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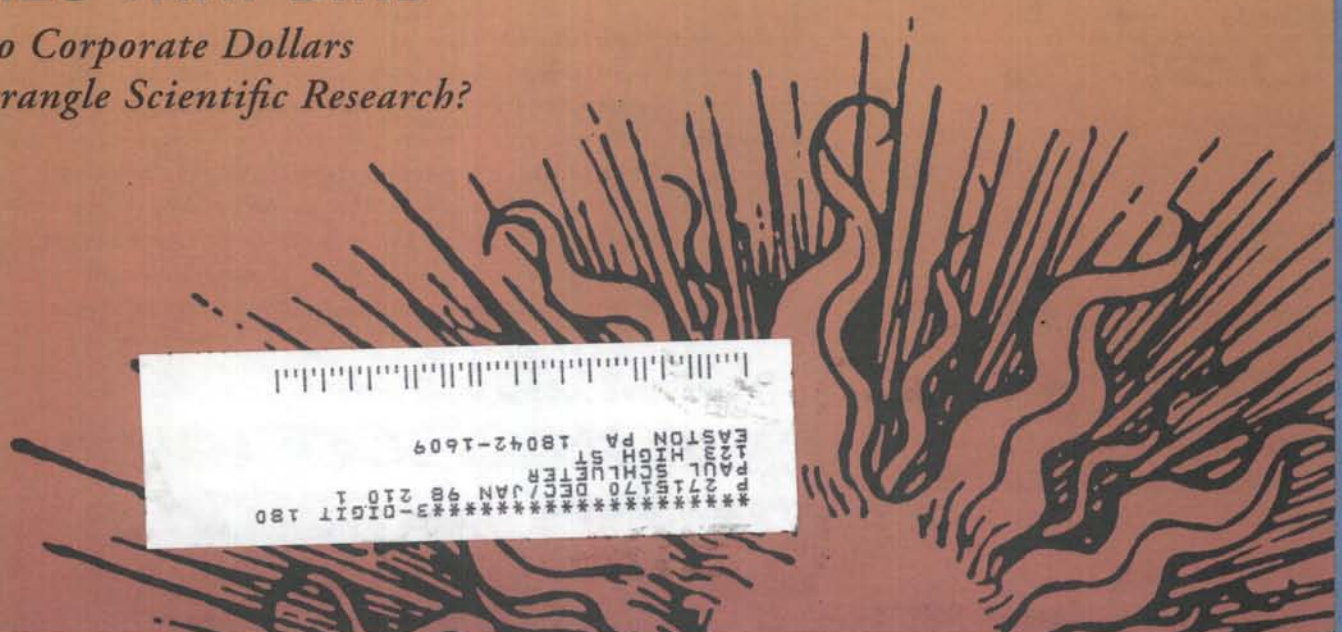

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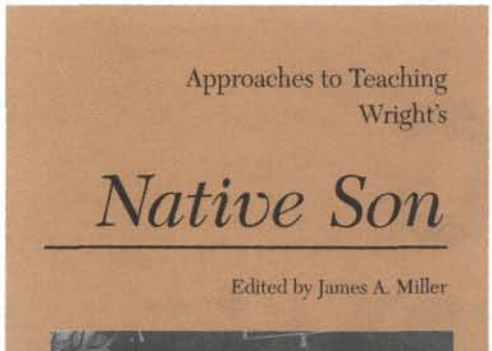

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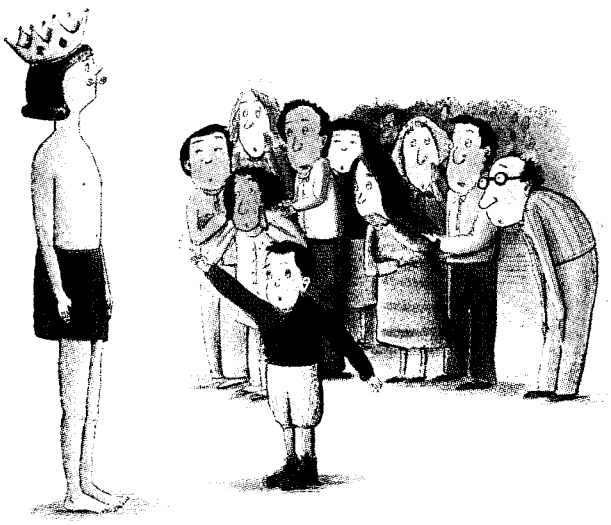

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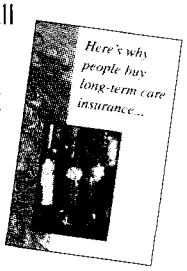

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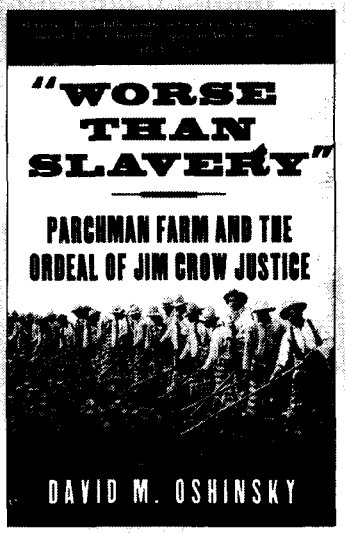

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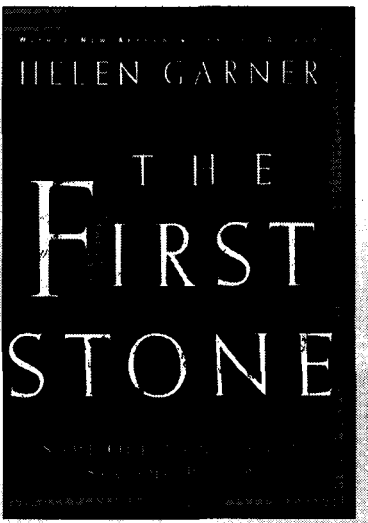

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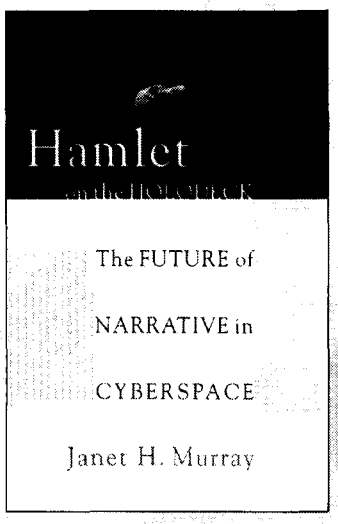

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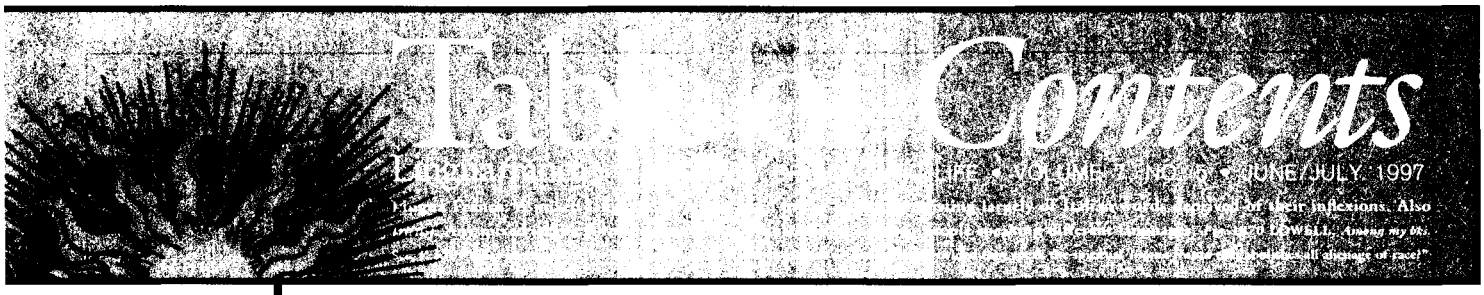

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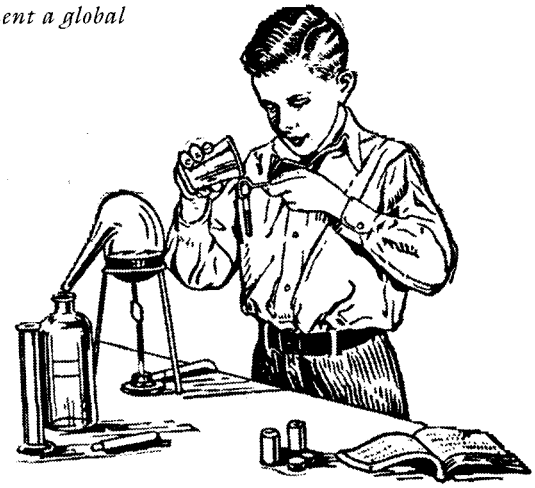

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

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READER DIGESTS

Lawrence Osborne's article "Does Man Eat Man?" [*LF*, April/May] unintentionally revealed two of the great secrets of anthropology: Cultural anthropologists tend to believe everything they hear, and archaeologists tend to believe everything they think.

All archaeological evidence is to a degree ambiguous, and results remain opinions. Little or nothing is ever definitely proved in archaeology, despite the statements of Timothy White and Peter Robinson in your article. If the patterns presented as evidence of cannibalism (whether from the prehistoric American Southwest or the European Neolithic) reveal anything, it is a common belief shared by the archaeologists involved that they're dealing with "limited or simple" cultures exhibiting little variability of behavior. In this situation cannibalism may be a logical conclusion since other possible explanations, such as warfare-related corpse disfigurement, domestic abuse, or ritual bone cleaning and secondary burial, are not even considered options.

How wonderful the world would be if only things were so straightforward and easy. How secure White, Robinson, and the others mentioned in your article must be in their belief that it is.

PETER Y. BULLOCK
STAFF ARCHAEOLOGIST
MUSEUM OF NEW MEXICO

PORN AGAIN

M.G. Lord's "Pornutopia" [*LF*, April/May] fails to give a balanced view of feminists who oppose pornography. I am a feminist scholar who opposes pornography, by which I mean most American pornography, which is male-oriented and misogynist.

If this male porn (*Playboy, Penthouse, Hustler*, etc.) were really so subversive, do you think the ruling class would allow it to be sold on every street corner in the U.S.? If *Hustler* allows working-class and poor men to dump their rage on working-class and poor women, how is that liberating for the women?

My current view of this male-oriented pornography is that it is actually pushed by the ruling class because it acts as a drug on men. It gives them a false sense of superiority over women and deflects them from looking at their economic problems. And it keeps women feeling inferior and depressed. Along with other prevailing forms of media, it suppresses unrest and dissent.

The phenomenon of feminists embracing this male-oriented pornography reflects the moral and political bankruptcy of some segments of academia. Humanists ought to be championing ideas and expressions that promote the dignity and worth of the human being, male *and* female.

JUDITH A. RANTA
WHITE PLAINS, NY

FIGHTING WORDS

I find two things particularly striking about Scott Sherman's article "Fighting Words" [*LF*, March] profiling Northwestern University political scientist Adolph Reed Jr. First, the failure of those like Henry Louis Gates Jr. and Cornel West to confront the primary arguments developed in Reed's April 1995 *Village Voice* essay exemplifies the kind of evasion of conflict and engagement among so-called black public intellectuals. Furthermore, for all of the finger-shaking about Reed's penchant for personal attacks, Gates, West, William Julius Wilson, and Manning Marable paint Reed as a reform-school escapee who is "smart" yet saddled by lots of unfulfilled potential. West, for instance, suggests Reed's early work was promising but that, "owing to whatever it is—insecurity, intellectual laziness—he just ended up doing this flat journalistic stuff." Unsurprisingly, discussions of Reed's essay within academic circles have mirrored these evasive

continued on page 74

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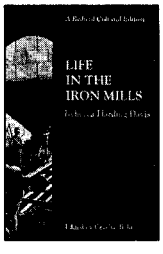

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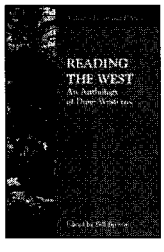

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Field *Notes*

THROUGH THE LOOKING GLASS

A FORTUNE-TELLER GAZES at a crystal ball; Randall McLeod gazes at books. The University of Toronto scholar doesn't read them, mind you: He simply stares at them, two at a time. And—oh, yes—the books are upside down.

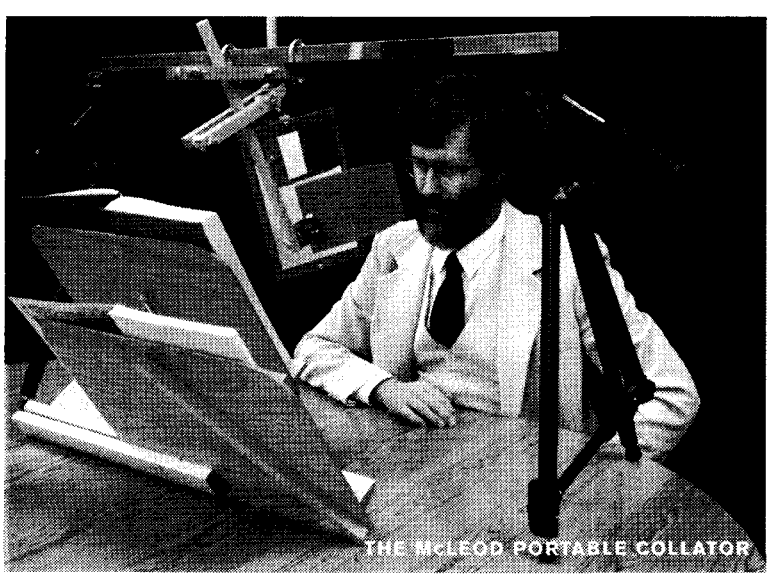
Well, it's not your typical armchair approach, and as the picture below suggests, McLeod's method looks pretty strange, too. What's he doing? Thirteen years ago, the Renaissance literature professor invented the McLeod Portable Collator, a handmade contraption that allows devoted textual scholars like himself to compare different editions of the same book looking for discrepancies, large and small. Lovingly fashioned from wood, mirrors, and two amputated tripods ("bipods"), McLeod's thirty-pound creation almost mystically reveals the rich idiosyncrasies lurking beneath the surface of Renaissance books. His invention works so well, McLeod boasts, that he can collate two copies of a Shakespeare quarto in thirty minutes.

The Portable Collator looks complicated, but it's easy to operate. A user places two similar texts—say, two equivalent pages from different copies of *Hamlet*—on a two-tiered reading stand. After some tweaking of the collator's movable mirror, the viewer stares straight ahead, the left eye focused on one book, the right eye focused on the mirror. Presto! The two texts visually fuse into one. "The brain combines the images," McLeod explains, "even though you know you're observing two different objects."

Any discrepancy between the collated texts announces itself with hallucinatory energy—in the form of a shimmering, three-dimensional effect. As McLeod describes it, "It looks like you could almost scoop up the affected letters in your hand." This illusion, which McLeod terms a "tranceformation," resembles a less flashy version of those 3-D *Magic Eye* books that had everyone looking cross-eyed a few years ago. When the compared texts turn out to have numerous differences, the visual blend is akin to a relief map, with variances rising like mountain ranges. Placing the texts upside down, as McLeod recommends, helps protect users from being blinkered by content—which, as all proofreaders know, is the gremlin that allows so many errors to sneak into print.

But why devote such energy to catching a few four-hundred-year-old typos? The answer, says McLeod, has to do with the Renaissance's unusual editing habits. "Elizabethan bookmakers did not finish the proofing process before printing began," he explains. "Though it may seem stupid from our point of view, corrections were made by the printers as they went along, and the various pages were put together helter-skelter." The upshot: Most early volumes of a Shakespeare play (or Herbert sonnets) are unique, meaning there's no "original" text to speak of. Modern editors, of course, labor hard to screen away these differences, cobbling together what they deem the best passages into a seamless whole.

This mopping up is precisely what the professor uses his collator to fight against. For McLeod, who is something of a cult figure in the emergent field of "history of the book" scholarship, is hell-bent on digging up the differences that get washed away by the Riverside (and the Norton). "My enemies are editors—or anyone who stands between the modern consumer and the artist," he says. In 1988 McLeod received a Guggenheim fellowship to use his collator to compare over fifty copies of Sir John Harington's 1591 English translation of Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso,* dispersed in libraries from Edinburgh to Los Angeles. But he's hardly about to compile a critical edition of his own. "I want to expose editing," he says. "In the case of *Orlando,* I want to show how special each copy is." As he puckishly announced in a recent



THE McLEOD PORTABLE COLLATOR

PAMELA HARRIS

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essay, "My project is not just not to *read* the *Orlando,* but not to read it *over and over again* until I have a new *way* to read."

Shakespearean Peter Stallybrass, of the University of Pennsylvania, loves this contrarian spirit. He raves that "Randy is one of the only people I know who actually *sees* books." Fittingly, McLeod's idiosyncratic essays—to be collected next spring in a Cambridge volume, *Material Shakespeare*—are littered with intentional misspellings and multiple pseudonyms (Random Cloud, Random Clod) that pay tribute to the wild-and-woolly texts he loves.

McLeod's so proud of his homemade creation that he's started marketing it to other scholars, at $2,900 a pop. (Those laboratory-quality mirrors don't come cheap.) An honest salesman, he emphasizes that he didn't invent the first collator—the device was born in the Victorian era, though its inventor is unknown. The first modern book collator was fashioned by the Shakespearean scholar Charlton Hinman. But there were problems. "Hinman's invention was enormous and had flashing lights that made the machine get very warm," says McLeod. In other words, it cooked the books. Librarians remained wary.

McLeod's achievement is primarily one of refinement. First, he nixed the lightbulbs. Then he reduced the size: When dismantled, the collator qualifies as carry-on luggage, a key advance for McLeod's target market of globetrotting archive dwellers. Another improvement is that while older collators require objects to be perfectly flat—quite a trick with fragile old books—McLeod's collator, for reasons too complicated to explain to non-physics majors, can easily handle curved shapes. Warholians take note: "I've collated Campbell's Soup cans," enthuses McLeod. "As long as the curved surfaces are congruent, you're ready to go."

McLeod's downsized collator has become a hit with both scholars and libraries. He made his first sale to a McGill University philosopher working on a (very) close reading of Hume. Since then, McLeod has been filling a steady stream of orders. The Cambridge University English department acquired one recently, as did the New York Public Library and the University of New South Wales. A graduate student at the University of Virginia used his shiny new collator to complete a dissertation on the variants in Ben Jonson's first folio.

Of course, McLeod knows that his wooden gizmo may one day be supplanted by electronic scanning devices. "There are computer-based approaches that do much the same thing," he concedes wistfully. "But they're gimmicky. The armadillos of invention will be around four thousand years from now." Just like those folios, one hopes. In any event, there's something wonderfully tactile about McLeod's machine—all those knobs and mirrors—that seems ideal for scholars who relish the book as object, from binding to flyleaf. "I love the *process* of collating," he says. "My machine doesn't just analyze and spit out results. All it says is, 'Here is strangeness.' I'm the one who gets to look."

DANIEL ZALEWSKI

MET DREAMS

TIRED OF TOILING AWAY, under-appreciated and ignored, in your lonely study carrel? Sicklied over with a pale cast of thought? Then it might be time, dear professor, to write an opera libretto.

This, at least, is the unlikely pursuit of two professors: Wayne Koestenbaum, the playfully eccentric CUNY-based cultural critic and poet, and Benjamin Barber, the Rutgers political scientist best known for his communitarian preachings. Koestenbaum's opus, *Jackie O,* had its premiere this spring; Barber's creation hits the opera stage later this year.

It all began for Koestenbaum in 1993. Maverick composer Michael Daugherty—whose works include *Metropolis Symphony* (with movements like "Oh, Lois!" and "Lex") and *Elvis Everywhere*—had been commissioned to create a piece for the Houston Opera Studio, one of the nation's premier

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venues for new opera, and he invited the English professor to produce the text. Koestenbaum had just put out *The Queen's Throat: Opera, Homosexuality, and the Mystery of Desire,* his decidedly flamboyant billet-doux to the great divas in opera history and the gay men who love them. It was a marriage made in camp heaven.

Daugherty suggested J. Edgar Hoover as a subject, but Koestenbaum had other ideas. He was just polishing off a new book, *Jackie Under My Skin: Interpreting an Icon.* And Jacqueline Bouvier Kennedy Onassis had just passed away at the age of sixty-four. The icon, Koestenbaum suggested, and Daugherty agreed, could do with a bit more interpreting, this time from the opera stage.

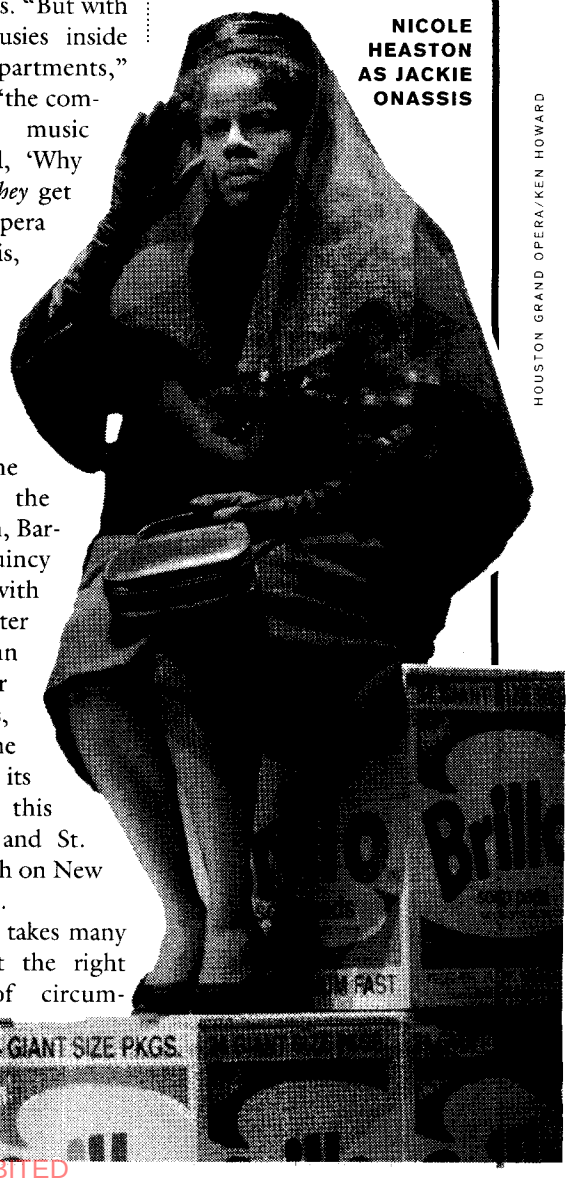
Jackie O debuted in Houston on March 14 to mixed reviews—*Newsweek* praised Koestenbaum for his "poetic" text, while *The Washington Post* found the libretto "mindless." Judge for yourself. In the first act, the former Mrs. Kennedy, returning to society after her mourning, joins Andy Warhol, Princess Grace, and Elizabeth Taylor in a splendiferous society do. (Liz gets the opening lines: "I *am* Isis. I am worshiped by millions who believe it. I *am* Isis.") At the height of the revel, Jackie takes a phone call: There has been an assassination—Bobby Kennedy's or Martin Luther King Jr.'s, it's not clear which. In response, she flees with heavy heart to husband Aristotle Onassis's Greek island paradise.

In Act Two, she reckons with the ruins of American innocence. The kitschy score carries the story through a series of Broadway-style numbers: Jackie sings a duet with the ghost of JFK; Ari sings a paean to the joys of a stiff morning drink. In the end, Jackie (did we mention that she is played by a short, stocky black woman?) rings down the curtain with an ode to her own personal "new frontier." Over a mournful cello solo, she sings, "I can't save my ruined land," resigning herself to a life of glamorous gowns and big sunglasses.

Benjamin Barber's *Home and the River,* set to a neo-Romantic score by composer George Quincy, offers a somewhat more earnest take on the theme of American fall and redemption. "As an American political philosopher," Barber observes, "I see the Civil War as the crucible that created America's modern destiny." In Barber's story, the infamous Renegade Units, desperado bands from the territories who took up arms for the highest bidder, provide the impetus for a complex drama of racial-cum-national reconciliation. Colonel Judd Jason, a Renegade leader contracted to help the Confederacy, consummates an adulterous affair on his way to Vicksburg with the daughter of a St. Louis innkeeper. In an impassioned aria, she convinces him to change sides and fight for the Union. While Jason is off at war, the mistress gives birth to his baby—then, in proper operatic fashion, promptly dies. Returning to St. Louis, he is told that his light-skinned lover was the daughter of a slave chambermaid. In the end, the former renegade takes his mulatto baby back north to his wife, whom he convinces to accept the burden of his (and the nation's) transgression.

Barber, the author of *Strong Democracy* and *Jihad vs. McWorld,* has a long history moonlighting in New York theater: His parents were among the founders of the legendary Group Theater during the Depression. At first, he hoped "Home in the River" could be staged at Rutgers. "But with the usual jealousies inside academic departments," Barber reports, "the composers in the music department said, 'Why the hell should *they* get to do an opera here?'" (Which is, perhaps, as it should be: Would Barber let the music faculty teach political science?) By the beginning of the Nineties, though, Barber and Quincy hooked up with New York theater impresario Lynn Rhodes, and after numerous delays, "Home and the River" will have its premiere run this June at Christ and St. Stephen's Church on New York's West Side.

Of course, it takes many hands, and just the right combination of circumstances, to bring a new opera to the stage. So if Koestenbaum's and Barber's are the tales of how two very different professors were able to bring their scholarly passions to a brand-new public, they are also stories about the perils and pleasures of collaboration for writers who know best the lonely labors at a word processor. This is a subject Koestenbaum understands as well as anyone. His dissertation, published by Routledge in 1989 as *Double Talk: The Erotics of Male Literary Collaboration,* chronicled the joint projects of writers like Freud and Breuer, Wordsworth and Coleridge, Eliot and Pound. He discerned that collaboration



NICOLE HEASTON AS JACKIE ONASSIS

HOUSTON GRAND OPERA/KEN HOWARD

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produced in these men, rugged individualists all, some powerful anxieties. Not him, though. "It helped that I had thought so carefully and elaborately about the dynamics of collaboration, so that I didn't have to, like, *endure* them. I had a kind of analytic distance."

Barber wears these contradictions closer to his breast. "One of the things I love about theater," he says, "is the collaborative dimension. When you work as a political philosopher you really are a loner." For all that, he allows, sometimes many hands make for agonizing work. "My initial reaction when I hear a setting that a composer does is always: '*That's* not what I wrote!' And at the same time, 'I never could have written that, that's brilliant.'"

RICK PERLSTEIN

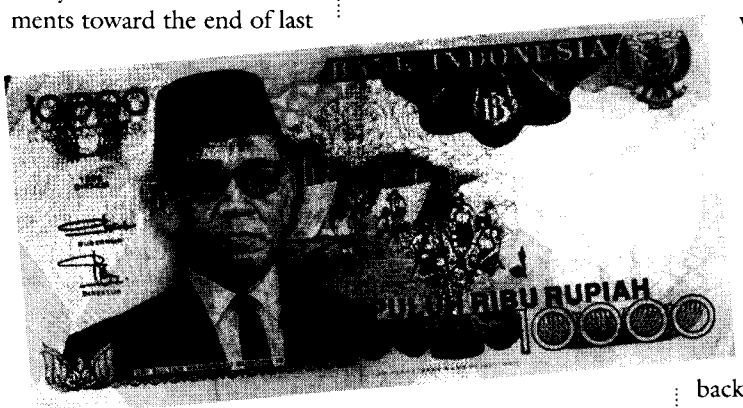
A PROFIT-SHARING WRITE-OFF

PERHAPS SENATOR FRED Thompson and the FBI agents investigating the Asian Connection scandal are up a blind alley. Acting on a hunch that ethnic Chinese businessmen harbor a hidden loyalty to their ancestral homeland, they are looking for a trail of influence leading from Beijing to the Oval Office. But their scenario ignores Watergate's chief lesson about how to unravel a political conspiracy: Follow the money.

Sooner or later, investigators will start asking who stood to gain from the schemes hatched by James T. Riady and other Asian moguls. And that's when they'll find us. For me and over a million of my colleagues whose nest eggs incubate in the College Retirement Equities Fund of the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association—better known as TIAA-CREF—the Lippo Empire's dreams were our dreams. Last year, we owned 2.8 million shares of the Lippo Life Insurance Company and almost 6.8 million shares of PT Multipolar, the Lippo Group's information technologies corporation.

TIAA-CREF unloaded many of its Asian investments toward the end of last year, but until then teachers' pensions lubricated the operations of more Asian megafirms than could fit in John Huang's Rolodex. We owned a slice of the Hong Kong Chinese Bank, which, according to subpoenas issued by the Whitewater special prosecutor's office, brought together Lippo, the People's Republic of China, and former Clinton aide and Rose Law Firm partner Webster Hubbell. The bank is the centerpiece of a huge industrial development project in Fujian Province and—according to William Safire—a nest of Chinese spies. We had twelve and a half million shares of that action.

In December, Justice Department investigators began examining donations made by Pauline Kanchanalak, who brought five executives of a mysterious Sino-Thai conglomerate known as the CP Group to the White House for coffee. Those of us who read our quarterly reports know that company by its full name, Charoen Pokaphand Group. We owned a cool twenty-five million shares. When Kanchanalak and Riady met with the President, they represented the fiduciary interests of one and a half million professors, researchers, and deans. America's educators can look forward to the day when they call themselves "emeritus" and take that last sabbatical; they will go in style, thanks to Lippo, CP, and their underpaid employees.



But Asian executives may have done more for teachers than bankroll their retirement. Since the campaign, Clinton's critics have looked for a sudden lurch in China policy, a softening in Clinton's stance on the World Trade Organization—anything that might betray a quid pro quo dictated from Deng Xiaoping's deathbed. To no avail. "Constructive engagement" has held a steady course since the Bush administration.

But look at education. In his State of the Union Address, Clinton called education his "number one priority as president." He pushed for more federal funds for colleges, national standards for math and reading, a computer on the desk of every student, and, best of all, a tuition tax credit.

Last year, colleges were underbidding one another in a desperate scramble for enrollments. Administrators worried that the outer limit of what the middle class would pay for education had finally been reached. But thanks to the proposed tax credit, tuition inflation is back and better than ever. Schools that were talking about downsizing can now think about adding another layer of administrative bureaucracy.

Could all this be the result of improper influence? I like to think so. As the advertisements say: Making your money work for you today is what sound retirement investing is all about.

NICK CULLATHER

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INDECENT PROPOSAL

TWO YEARS AGO LYNN Beller, a sophomore studying biology and nutrition at the University of South Florida, received a letter from the Higher Education Scholarship Program (HESP) promising her that, for $10, she would receive a minimum of $2,500 in scholarship funds—or her money back. Before signing the check, she contacted her father, Jeffrey Beller, who said, "'For just ten bucks and with a money-back guarantee, what do you have to lose?'"

Answer: ten bucks. When no scholarship money arrived, Mr. Beller, a Long Island accountant and comptroller, tried to track down the check and found that HESP had cashed it. After writing two follow-up letters to no avail, he penned a complaint to the local postal inspector. The Federal Trade Commission contacted him a few months later and told him that his daughter was not alone. In fact, since last August, the FTC has filed suits against HESP and six other companies in the "scholarship matching" business—and succeeded in freezing the assets of all but one of them. According to the FTC, these seven companies "guarantee college money in return for up-front fees ranging from $10 to $400 but often give consumers nothing of value." Dana Lesemann, a staff attorney at the FTC's Bureau of Consumer Protection, says that, to her knowledge, "not a single student has ever received the promised scholarship money from any of the seven companies." Together, they have allegedly bilked tens of thousands of students out of an estimated $10 million.

Of course, not all scholarship-matching services are unscrupulous. Many unpublicized scholarships do exist, and, just as many taxpayers are willing to pay H&R Block to save time and frustration, many students are willing to pay a matching service to assist them with their financial aid search. After all, not everyone knows about the A.W. Bodine Sunkist Scholarship "for students who have derived the majority of their income from agriculture" or the Amelia Earhart Fellowship Award "for women who will have a bachelor's degree in a field of study related to aerospace science or in engineering by the time the fellowship is taken up."

Still, all of this information is available for free on the Internet. Two gratis services that help students find private-sector scholarships, fellowships, grants, and loans are the College Board's Scholarship Search (www.college-

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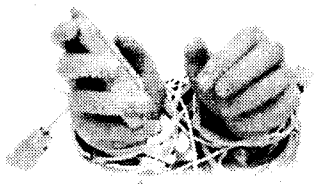
board.org) and FastWEB (www.fastweb.com).

David Merkowitz of the American Council on Education (ACE) says that more and more students are now turning to these services for help. Compared with twenty years ago, he asserts, a much higher proportion of high-school graduates are attending college, and this burgeoning market for scholarship information has created a niche for the businesses. At the same time, says Merkowitz, the organizations have expanded and improved their marketing techniques—advertising in school newspapers, on school bulletin boards, on the Internet, and via direct mailings. Gerald Craig, director of student financial aid at Arkansas State University, describes late-night television commercials telling viewers that they could start their own scholarship-matching-service franchise for "just $400."

Inevitably, the growth of licit services has spawned illicit ones as well. As Dana Lesemann explains: "Frauds generally follow the economy, and these days, people are worried about education." She says that scam artists often advertise "free money" and claim to have access to a "great untapped pool of private funding." An on-line advertisement for The National Scholarship Matching Program—$89.95 for the "standard" option, $129.95 for the "deluxe"—claims just this: "The National Commission on Student Financial Assistance reported that of the 7 billion dollars available to students to fund their education, only $400 million was claimed. That left 6.6 billion dollars unclaimed!"

Scholarship authority Mark Kantrowitz charges that the "$6.6 billion in unclaimed aid" is a myth. The figures, he argues, are based on a twenty-year-old study "estimating the education benefits provided by employers for their employees, not money from private foundations and philanthropic organizations. If the money is going unused, it's because it can't be used; employees can only take advantage of tuition assistance programs and company scholarships when they or their children are enrolled in college."

On Kantrowitz's FinAid Web site (www.finaid.org), he provides students with exhaustive information concerning financial aid alternatives and routinely issues reliability reports on suspicious services. Besides passing complaints on to the FTC, he does some sleuthing himself. When he investigated the service that swindled Lynn Beller, he discovered that the service's posh address in Washington D.C. was actu-



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ally a rented box at a Mailboxes Etc. (HESP also goes by a variety of aliases, including the National Health Scholarship Program, the National Scholarship Program, the National Management Scholarship Program, and the National Science Program.)

Fortunately, the Bellers did not fall prey to one of the more perfidious scholarship scams: abuse of the electronic bank draft. In this ploy, the company asks for the student's checking account number over the phone, then uses Western Union or an analogous service to "create a check" that is used to debit the required fee from the account. While this process is legal if performed with the authorization of the account holder, many of these companies are not bothering to ask permission. And once scam artists have your checking account number, it is possible for them to remove every dollar from your account without your authorization. "Your checking account," says Lesemann, "is actually less protected than your credit card account. While in most cases, credit cards can only hold a consumer responsible for $50, there is no limit on liability for checking accounts."

When a *Lingua Franca* editor posing as a student called the 800 number of a service that has recently been sued by the New York State attorney general's office, the operator asked for the editor's name, address, school—and checking account number. Only when *Lingua Franca* pressed the issue did the operator admit that the account number would be used in an "electronic bank draft" to debit the $96 fee. According to Robin Rovsek, New York State assistant attorney general, the case against this company includes the charge that it has "withdrawn its fee—which ranges from $70 to $100—from students' accounts without disclosing its intent to make a withdrawal or obtaining authorization from the student."

Although the FTC recommends using caution when dealing with scholarship-matching services, Jack Joyce, manager of information and training services at the College Board, recommends not using them at all. Often, he says, these services that "guarantee" results cause students to procrastinate in applying for available federal funding. "And really," Joyce says, "students should not have to invest more than a rainy afternoon in a public library to find the information they need."

MARK RAMBLER

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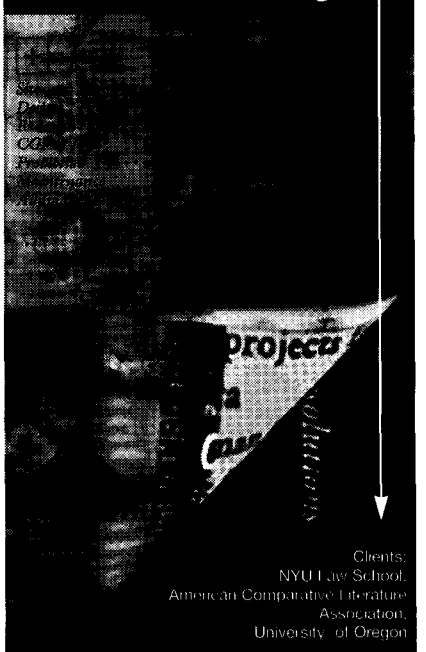

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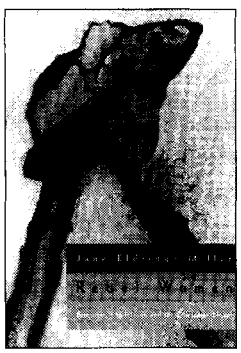

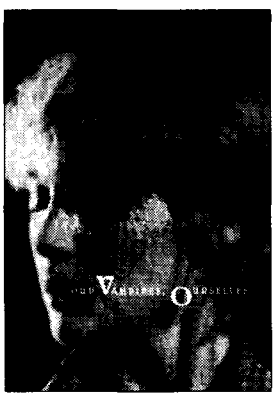

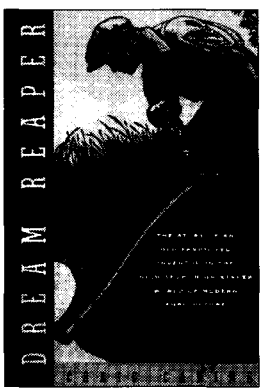

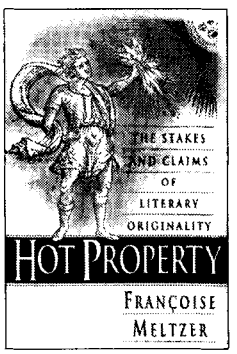

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• • • •

Michael Bérubé, professor of English at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and author of *Life As We Know It: A Father, a Family, and an Exceptional Child* (Pantheon, 1996).

Bérubé describes ***The Life and Times of Captain N.***, by the Canadian writer **Douglas Glover** (Knopf, 1993), as "a searing and hallucinatory historical novel. Set on the Niagara frontier during the American Revolutionary War, the narrative interweaves the voices of three major characters: Captain Hendrick Nellis, a Tory fighting for the British by redeeming white captives of the local Messessagey Indians; Mary Hunsacker, an adolescent German immigrant who winds up as one of the captives after her family is slaughtered; and Oskar Nellis, the captain's son and bitter enemy, who pens absurd, desperate letters to General Washington. Vivid and visceral, devoted to minutely re-created historical detail, but also distinctly eerie and contemporary, it's sort of the Anglo-Canadian precursor to Madison Smartt Bell's *All Souls' Rising*. Definitely worth the price of admission."

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Wendy Lesser, editor of *The Threepenny Review* and author of *Pictures at an Execution* (Harvard, 1993).

"Two neglected books that I am always recommending are **Rebecca West**'s ***The Fountain Overflows*** (1956; out of print) and **Ford Madox Ford**'s tetralogy about the World War I, ***Parade's End*** (1924–1928; currently available from Knopf). Ford's portrait of a society dealing with a despised war and its returning veterans will remind my generation of our own Vietnam era; and for readers who love great characters, none can beat Christopher Tietjens and his malicious wife, Sylvia.

"If Ford is underappreciated, however, West is ignored: ***The Fountain Overflows*** is a book that nobody I know has read without my recommending it, yet it is one of the great turn-of-the-century novels. It is about sibling rivalry, musical families, genteel poverty, unreliable fathers, the death penalty, the newspaper business, the market for old master paintings—and it is also, despite all this plot, an invitingly autobiographical, intimate book."

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Douglas Brinkley, professor of history at the University of New Orleans and author of *The Majic Bus: An American Odyssey* (Harcourt Brace, 1993).

"**Jack Kerouac**'s novel ***Visions of Cody,*** written in 1951 and 1952 but not published in its entirety until 1972 (and currently available from Penguin), is one of postwar America's authentic masterworks. Abandoning the traditional narrative of *On the Road,* Kerouac took to experimental 'sketching,' a style derived from the confessionals of the Roman Catholic Church, where it is a sin not to reveal all to God. Using the super-exuberant Neal Cassady (Cody Pomeray in the novel) as his Dionysian hero, Kerouac captures the neon nightlife of a consumer-crazed America whose denizens chain-smoke in hazy all-night diners listening to Charlie Parker blow his feverish horn. To some early critics, the book seemed disjointed, more an ambitious journal with changed names than a pioneering work of modernist fiction. They were wrong. Today, *Visions of Cody* rivals Edward Hopper's paintings and Billie Holiday's jazz as an honorable and accurate expression of the heart-wrenching loneliness found in Midnight America."

Richard Rorty, Kenan Professor of Humanities at the University of Virginia and author of *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity* (Cambridge, 1989).

"A very funny novel that many people have never come across is ***Zuleika Dobson*** by **Max Beerbohm** (1911; currently available from Amereon). If you admire P.G. Wodehouse's way of combining class porn (the kind of writing that is to snobbery what ordinary pornography is to forbidden sex) with allusive wit and an appreciation of the human condition, you

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will like Beerbohm's book even better. **Sinclair Lewis**'s ***It Can't Happen Here*** (1935; currently available from Dutton) is a novelistic treatment of how fascism might come to the United States, helped along by fundamentalist preachers and populist demagogues. Lewis's scenario could easily be played out in the course of the next decade."

Shelley Fisher Fishkin, professor of American studies and English at the University of Texas at Austin, author of *Lighting Out for the Territory: Reflections on Mark Twain and American Culture* (Oxford, 1996), and editor of the twenty-nine-volume *Oxford Mark Twain* (1996).

"A neglected work by **Mark Twain** that I've always liked is the last book-length work of fiction published during his lifetime: ***Extract From Captain Stormfield's Visit to Heaven*** (1909; currently available from Oxford), an imaginative fantasy in which conventional ethnocentric images of heaven are overturned with energy and élan. (Stormfield, for example, expecting heaven to be populated by white folks, finds that whites are clearly in the minority.) Another neglected treasure is ***1601*** (1882; currently available from Oxford), in which Shakespeare, Sir Francis Bacon, and other luminaries sit around the Elizabethan fireside talking dirty. Written during the summer of 1876, this bawdy language experiment helped Twain get his creative juices flowing for another project—also a language experiment of sorts—that he began that same summer: *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*."

Gerald Graff, professor of English and Education at the University of Chicago and author of *Beyond the Culture Wars: How Teaching the Conflicts Can Revitalize American Education* (Norton, 1992).

Graff recommends **George Orwell**'s ***Keep the Aspidistra Flying*** (1936; currently available from Harcourt Brace). "This grimly hilarious novel has become timely again in an age of downsizing and middle-class job insecurity," he observes. "Would-be poet and intellectual Gordon Comstock conducts a book-long rant against 'the money god' and the degradation of personal and social relations under capitalism. *Aspidistra*—the title refers to a houseplant symbolic of dreary British respectability—anticipates many of the themes and episodes of the more portentous *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Like *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, it's a great book to teach; students will divide interestingly in their reactions to Gordon's selling out at the end to write ads warning against 'pedic perspiration.'"

Charles Johnson, professor of English at the University of Washington and author of the National Book Award–winning novel *Middle Passage* (Atheneum, 1990).

"First published in 1923, **Jean Toomer**'s exquisitely poetic, expansive ***Cane*** (currently available from Norton, Modern Library, and Peter Smith) stands at the beginning of modernism and the Harlem Renaissance. His visionary adventure in form, his critique of American materialism, and his charting of spiritual experience all reach back to the Transcendentalists and anticipate our contemporary dismantling of racial and gender constructs. Yet this artistic triumph, this project of cultural *openness*, beside which today's multiculturalism pales, remains generally unknown to the public, despite Toomer's wide literary influence. A montage of short stories, sketches, poems, and a novella-play, *Cane* traverses a black South brimming with elemental mysteries and a craving for sensation and ends with a black intellectual returning to the South in search of wholeness. Throughout *Cane*—read it with his prophetic poem "Blue Meridian" (1936) and philosophical aphorisms in *Essentials* (1931)—Toomer's subject is that deepest of all mysteries: the self."

CORBIS-BETTMANN

Sandra Gilbert, professor of English at UC-Davis, coauthor with Susan Gubar of the three-volume *No Man's Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century* (Yale,

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1988–1994), and author of *Ghost Volcano: Poems* (Norton, 1995).

"Because I am myself a poet as well as a critic," says Gilbert, "I have a special fondness for fiction produced by poets, a frequently overlooked genre. **Karl Shapiro**'s novel ***Edsel*** is a case in point. Published in 1971 (and currently out of print), it's been virtually forgotten. Yet it's a scandalously funny account of the travels and travails of poet-professor Edsel Lazarow, marked by the same verbal pyrotechnics that give Shapiro's poem "The Bourgeois Poet" (1962) its satiric zing. And finally, I can't resist mentioning short fiction by someone closely related to a poet. Before her final breakdown, **Vivien Haigh-Wood Eliot** produced some incisive sketches that appeared in her husband's *The Criterion*. She also wrote a few even better stories that still languish in the Bodleian Library. I've been struggling for quite a while to persuade someone to get these pieces into print."

Sven Birkerts, author of *The Gutenberg Elegies: The Fate of Reading in an Electronic Age* (Faber and Faber, 1994).

"Neglected greats: a shifting category that at any one time comprises most of the truly daring or subversive works of literature. Let this momentary framing of **Malcolm Lowry**'s ***Under the Volcano*** (1947; currently available from Dutton) honor them all. *Volcano* is many a writer's secret place of repair. Never mind the occasional creak of the turning plot wheel, and forget a certain thinness about Yvonne, Laruelle and Hugh, the novel's three subsidiary players. What is unforgettable is the lyric woundedness of the consul and his epochal collapse in Mexico. When his soul infiltrates your reading sensibility (and it does by the end of the second chapter), you must grow—and darken—to accommodate it. The whole process feels like a loss of innocence but an arrival, too. Dread and beauty—every iridescent sentence is shot through with both. The whole work is so clearly the salvage of Lowry's struggle with the bottle, which was a genuine spiritual contest and would be trivialized by the term 'alcoholism.'"

Timothy Brennan, professor of English and comparative literature at SUNY Stony Brook and author of *At Home in the World: Cosmopolitanism Now* (Harvard, forthcoming).

"Even among Caribbean writers, **George Lamming** is shamefully unheralded, while being in some ways the English Caribbean's last word," notes Brennan. ***Natives of My Person*** (1972; currently available from Michigan) is his (and my) favorite. Nothing like it has ever been written anywhere, with its weird mock seventeenth-century prose, its setting in a slave ship off the Guinea coast, and its fantastic allegory of women's oppression as the intimate result of the triangular trade." From the Caribbean, Brennan moves to the Caucasus. "No one thinks of reading **Fyodor V. Gladkov**'s ***Cement*** (1925; currently available from Northwestern), because we all suppose Soviet socialist novels are junk, but it's among the shrewdest and most inspired treatments of the pathos of organizations and the sacrificial impulse of the makers of new worlds."

Frank Lentricchia, professor of Literature at Duke and author of the novellas *Johnny Critelli* and *The Knifemen,* published in one volume by Scribners (1996).

"I wonder what it's like to experience **Thomas Bernhard** in German? I assume that he's even more intense in the original, and if that's the case, it's a lucky thing that I'll be spared. Start with the consummately condensed expression of his style and vision, ***Wittgenstein's Nephew*** (published in Germany in 1982; currently available in English from Chicago), an evening's reading: partly autobiographical fiction, partly record of a friendship of shared illness and genius, partly scorching destruction of the Viennese version of modern culture, always accessible, constantly hilarious and dark, in the end, unexpectedly moving. All of it is done in a mesmerizing first person mode full of maniacal insight about language, including the narrator's own. Then, move on to ***Correction*** (published in Germany in 1975; currently available in English from Chicago), one of the four or five best novels I've read."

William Gass, director of the International Writers Center at Washington University, author of *The Tunnel* (Knopf, 1995), and winner of a 1996 National Book Critics Circle Award for *Finding a Form: Essays* (Knopf, 1996).

"**Wyndham Lewis**'s greatest novel, ***Self Condemned*** (1954; currently available from Black Sparrow)—written after he had gone blind, in Canada and about Canada, in condemnation of Canada, in condemnation of himself for inexplicably abandoning England and coming to Canada, whose bleak unlit winters bore upon even a blind man—was received with some interest in Canada but with unopen arms, selling 7,000 copies during its first two years there. Not bad for Lewis, not bad for Canada, but even in Canada it failed to achieve the audience it ought to have had, an audience which, had it been there, would have condemned the book just as its protagonist, Harding, was condemned for writing the *Secret History of World War Two,* which didn't kowtow to the Allies enough and whose pacifist proclivities were interpreted as fascist leanings, dismaying Harding as Harding might have been dismayed had Harding been dismembered, and driving him out of England into exile in a cold Toronto hotel where his marriage comes apart, too, like seams held by rotten thread. The book's movement is glacial and grinding, the writing brilliant, the mood cold and sterile, but the hotel is set on fire (as Lewis's was) only to become a fire hose's frozen shell, like Harding himself, who, after his no-longer-loved wife is crushed under a car where she's rolled herself, is empty enough now, hollow enough now to become an American academic."

RICK PERLSTEIN

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Illuminate.

Anatomy of a Miracle
by Patti Waldmeir
Journalist Waldmeir examines the politics and players—including Nelson Mandela, F.W. de Klerk and Chief Buthelezi—responsible for the end of apartheid in South Africa.
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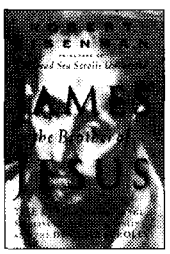

James the Brother of Jesus
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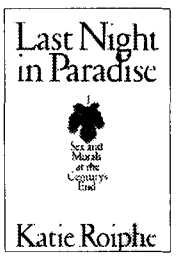

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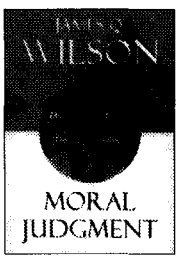

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A leading sociologist examines the failure of our criminal court system in a book that casts new light on contemporary jurisprudence.
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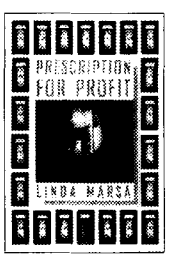

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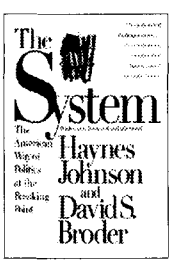

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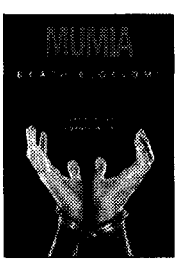

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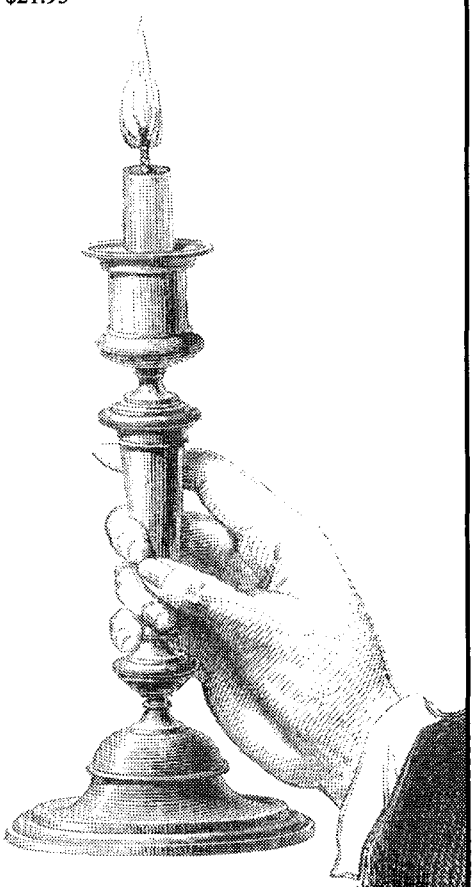

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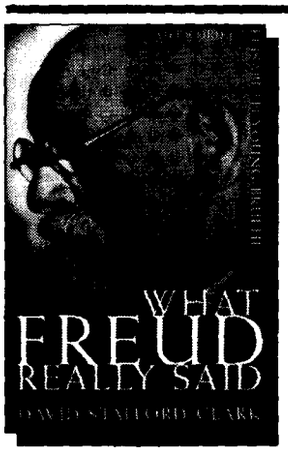

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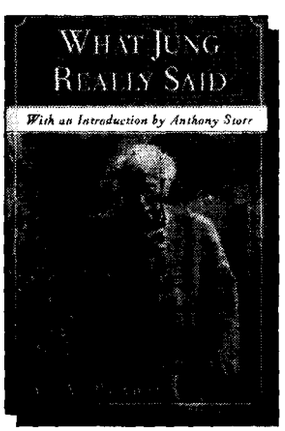

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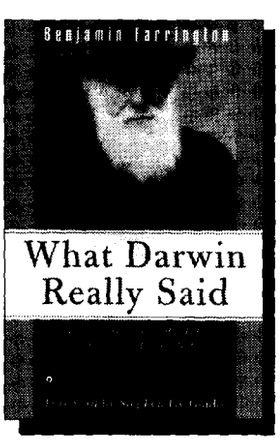

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SPACE RACE

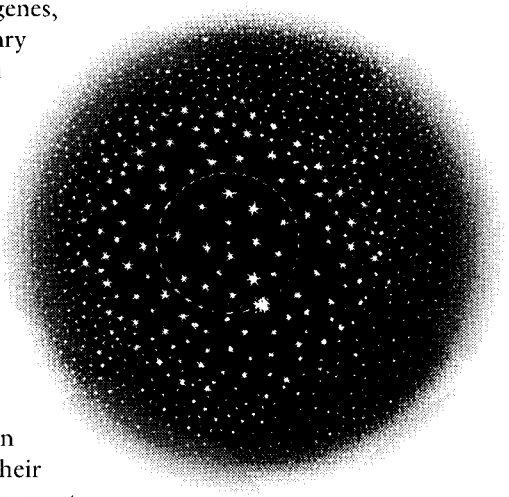
IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY, DARWINISM killed the "design argument" for the existence of God. The wing of the eagle, the shape of the orchid, the speed of the antelope—all of these were produced by the blind gropings of evolution, Darwin showed, not by an all-powerful and beneficent deity as theologians fondly hoped.

In this century, however, the design argument has been resurrected in a new form. Physicists have discovered that the fundamental laws of nature are fine-tuned to yield a universe that would give rise to creatures like us. If the number that determines the strength of gravity were infinitesimally larger, for example, the cosmos would have collapsed within an instant of the big bang. Or, if the ratio of the proton's mass to that of the neutron weren't precisely what it is, the nucleus of the atom would not hold together and the molecules necessary for life would not exist. There are some twenty such parameters built into the standard model of physics, and someone appears to have set each one of them at precisely the right value to produce a world congenial to the emergence of wretched sinners like us. As the Cambridge cosmologist Fred Hoyle once put it, the universe looks like "a put-up job."

But can the revamped design argument prevail? Today, it seems, the corrosive acid of Darwinism has begun eating away at this bit of neo-teleology. In his new book *The Life of the Cosmos* (Oxford), Penn State cosmologist and professor of physics Lee Smolin deploys Darwin's dangerous idea on a trans-cosmic scale. Like organisms, he argues, universes reproduce, and the most fecund universes are the ones that happen to bring into being—as a mere by-product, an afterthought—Homo sapiens and such.

Smolin's scenario hangs on that increasingly familiar enigma, the black hole. When a giant star collapses under the force of its own gravity at the end of its life, it supposedly contracts to a single point of infinite density where time itself comes to an end—so, at least, says Einstein's theory of relativity, which governs how things behave in the large. But quantum theory, which governs how things behave in the small, cannot account for these infinite densities. Although physicists have not yet managed to unify these two theories into a "theory of everything" that would reveal exactly what goes on inside a black hole, there has been some informed speculation that a black hole's gravitational collapse stops short and takes what's been called a "bounce"—an explosion occurring just before infinite density is reached. The result: a baby universe with its very own space-time. Indeed, the big bang that began the universe we live in may well have been just such a bounce within a black hole inhabiting another universe.

As if this weren't audacious enough, Smolin adds a kicker. Each time a baby universe is born, he submits, the parameters in its physical laws randomly shift their values a bit from those of the parent universe. With these parameters playing the role of genes, both of the elements necessary for the Darwinian algorithm to do its thing—differential reproduction and heritable mutation—are in place. A universe whose physical laws make it an efficient nursery for black holes will spawn a lot of baby universes, argues Smolin. But to make black holes you need big stars—big enough to cook up the chemicals necessary for life in their cores. And before their gravitational collapse, they must explode in a supernova, spewing these biochemicals out into space. That's where the atoms in our bodies came from.



Smolin admits most of this is "frankly speculative." But when reached by phone at home

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one recent Sunday morning, he took great pains to explain its foundation in state-of-the-art cosmology and physics—a task at which he succeeds admirably in his book. It was not surprising that Smolin wasn't at church, given his avowed aim of enabling science "to finally transcend the religious and metaphysical faiths of its founders." His intellectual adversary, though, is not so much God as Plato—specifically, the Platonic conceit that absolute laws of nature exist in a "timeless, transcendent realm." His own evolutionary account of these laws—reflecting disparate influences like Leibniz, Wittgenstein, Milan Kundera, and the legal theorist Roberto Unger—makes them "historical, contingent."

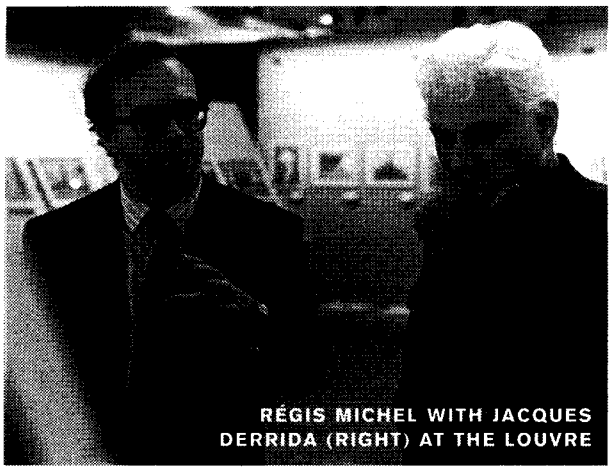
If Smolin is correct, historicity would certainly apply to the parameters in the physicists' standard model—the value of the gravitational constant, for instance. But wouldn't the *form* of the laws, valid for the entire community of universes, retain its Platonic stature? And wouldn't this entire cosmic assemblage posited by *The Life of the Cosmos* exist timelessly, since the notion of time is meaningful only within each bubble universe? Confronted by these questions, Smolin insisted that he had at least made "partial progress" against the "nostalgia for the Absolute." He was also careful to deny that he believes the cosmos is literally alive, as his popularizer John Gribbin claimed in his 1993 book *In the Beginning*. The possibility of universes reproducing themselves sexually was not broached.

Whether Smolin has dealt the coup de grâce to teleology will not be clear until physicists work out a consistent theory of quantum gravity. In the meantime, he is content to have used Darwinian logic to undermine the idea of a cosmic fine-tuner: "As a friend of mine says, the whole show of the universe is so extraordinary that the absence of God is God enough."

JIM HOLT

The Exhibitionists

A FAMOUSLY PESSIMISTIC MARXIST, THEODOR Adorno was skeptical of art's ability to counter capitalism's homogenizing tendencies. Even the experimental surrealist art of the Twenties, Adorno feared, would eventually be deemed "obsolete." And as for art hanging on the walls of a state-supported cultural institution, Adorno was utterly without hope. "Museum and mausoleum are connected by more than phonetic association," he lamented bitterly. "Museums are the family sepulchres of works of art."



RÉGIS MICHEL WITH JACQUES DERRIDA (RIGHT) AT THE LOUVRE

That was thirty years ago, before the advent of celebrity audio tours at MoMA, before tobacco-industry-sponsored blockbusters at the Met, and before the Louvre acquired an underground shopping mall. Nevertheless, even Adorno might approve of a curatorial experiment currently under way at France's largest museum.

Since 1990, a handful of European intellectuals, all with impeccable critical theory credentials and a notable lack of curatorial expertise, have had the run of the Louvre's drawing collections. Out of these archival rummagings has come the series *Parti Pris* (Taking Sides): exhibitions distinctive not only for their idiosyncratic approaches to art but, perhaps more importantly, for the unprecedented degree of control over material, commentary, and installation granted their "authors."

As befits an exercise in institutional self-criticism, the *Parti Pris* series takes the inherently partisan, wholly subjective nature of looking as its central theme. Eager to portray the way people actually respond to art, the Louvre staff encouraged their guest curators to pay attention to their personal obsessions, thoughts, and fantasies—rather than to movements, periods, and formal categories. "The idea was to break with the conformist discourse of art history and its inability to talk about art except from a strictly historical, pseudoscientific point of view," explains Régis Michel, the Louvre's curator for graphic arts and co-organizer of the project. "We wanted a real interrogation from both inside and outside the museum about what we do with works of art, how we exhibit them, and what their ideological content consists of."

Given the Louvre's self-undermining agenda for *Parti Pris,* inviting Jacques Derrida to inaugurate the series was an obvious move. Since then, British art-house filmmaker (and former painter) Peter Greenaway and Swiss intellectual historian Jean Starobinksi have also mounted

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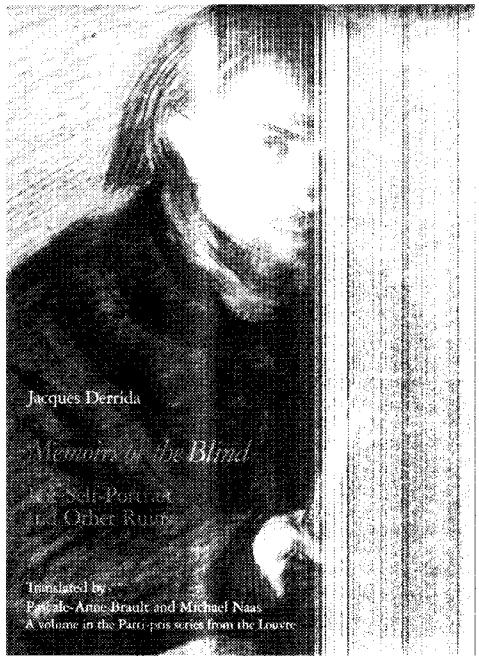
shows, all unexpected crowd pleasers. At this moment, Julia Kristeva is said to be poking around the Louvre in search of material for her exhibition, scheduled for the spring of 1998. As the exhibitions are completed, they are turned into books, available in English in attractive coffee-table editions with colored plates from University of Chicago Press. (The third in the series will be released this month.)

So what does a radical *exposition* look like? Jean Starobinski's *Largesse,* the most recent offering in the *Parti Pris* series, is presented as an illustrated treatise on gift giving. (At the Louvre, extracts from the text were displayed next to images on the walls.) Clearly more comfortable talking about philosophy than about art, Starobinksi ruminates on objects from literature and myth—including the Trojan horse, Pandora's box, and a scene in Huysmans's novel *À rebours* in which the uncompromising aesthete Des Esseintes has his servant toss a "vile snack" to a group of beggar children for the pleasure of watching them fight over it—in order to make a fascinating case for the morally ambiguous nature of largesse. More often than not, however, Starobinski avoids direct references to the illustrations that accompany his text. As a result, the art occupies an uncertain status, seen but not heard.

By contrast, the images in Peter Greenaway's *Flying Out of This World* are decidedly gregarious. Displaying more than ninety drawings about levitation, floating, and flying, including ethereal sky studies by Delacroix, Whistler, and Constable, abductions of Ganymede by da Vinci and Michelangelo, and several comical depictions of satyrs and fauns struggling to transport a fleshy, intoxicated Silenus after a bacchanalia, Greenaway assembles an exquisitely detailed narrative about our insatiable desire for flight. Originally accompanied by a soundtrack of atmospheric noise, *Flying Out of This World* celebrates our ability to imagine—and attempt—the inconceivable, while at the same time functioning as a cautionary tale about the dangers of human hubris. Arriving at Victor Hugo's desolate "Hanged Man," the exhibition's penultimate drawing, Greenaway observes dryly, "Gravity has strung this creature up at the same time it has laid this creature low."

Of the three exhibitions, perhaps only Derrida's fulfills the Louvre's assignment to challenge the way museums and art historians tend to talk about art. His *Memoirs of the Blind: The Self-Portrait and Other Ruins* begins with a paradox—the inability of the draftsman to keep both his subject and his piece of paper in his field of vision simultaneously. It then advances the novel theory that drawing itself is fundamentally blind: The draftsman looks either at his subject (in which case, his hand holding the pencil draws blindly) or at his pencil and paper (in which case, he must recall what he has seen). And recollection, insists Derrida, is blind, an image produced by memory not vision.



From this paradoxical premise, Derrida leads us on a revelatory (if anxiety-ridden) tour of drawing's obsession with blindness. He examines Rembrandt's mysterious *Tobias Healing His Father's Blindness*—which to Derrida's delight arrived at the Louvre in 1803 misidentified as *Surgeon Bandaging a Wounded Man*—and finds in Tobias's gestures an allegory of the engraver at work with his stylus; he lingers over Joseph-Benoît Suvée's moving depiction of Butades tracing her lover's silhouette from his shadow on the wall. "A shadow," he muses, "is a simultaneous memory, and Butades's stick is a staff of the blind."

Inevitably, however, it is in the self-portrait—at best, for Derrida, merely a recollection of a reflection—that he finds the embodiment of his deepest concerns. Examining repeated efforts at self-portrayal by Chardin and Fantin-Latour, among others, Derrida finds that all expression is a kind of self-portrait, and that self-portraiture is blind. The implications of this conclusion are discomfiting. To write—about art or anything else—is to create a self-portrait and to risk blindness. As a curatorial effort, *Memoirs of Blind* may be in the end (perhaps deliberately) self-defeating. After all, what good is an exhibition of drawings chosen by a blind man?

If Derrida's ideas held sway, the Louvre's entire curatorial staff might as well take a couple of Valium and call in sick. Then again, perhaps revolutionizing museum-speak wasn't literally what the Louvre intended. Although *Parti Pris* has brought teenagers into the museum, it has failed to provoke much debate, admits Régis Michel regretfully. Engaging in a dutiful deconstruction of his own, he speculates as to why: "While it's true that we now do these kinds of shows, they also give us an alibi. They allow the institution to say, 'See, we're not closed to progress, and the proof is that we do these exhibitions.' This way, we are covered and can continue to produce the same, traditional art history."

EMILY EAKIN

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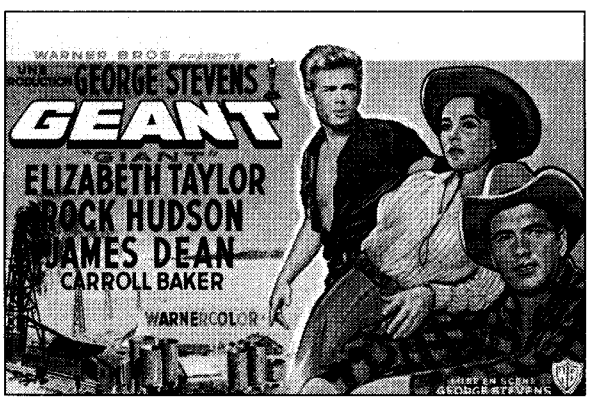
JE VOUDRAIS LE NTV

IN THE EARLY EIGHTIES, WHEN *DALLAS* CAST its spell over half the Western European population every week, Old World intellectuals and politicians grew edgier and edgier about this affront to good taste in the heart of civilization. It was not long before the culprit was identified: America, or, as the French minister of culture Jack Lang put it, the specter of American "cultural imperialism." And for a brief moment, it seemed as if defending Europeans against the wiles of a fictional Texas oilman and his clan was an act of cultural self-preservation.

Yet for all the nineteenth-century imagery of the colonial yoke, no one was forcing Europeans to watch *Dallas*. Nor was there any evidence that viewers were being seduced into abandoning their values for those of the Ewing family. In fact, in a 1982 study, "Watching *Dallas*," Dutch researcher Ien Ang concluded nearly the opposite: The Dutch viewers Ang queried mostly professed disdain for life on Southfork. They claimed to be drawn to the psychological riches of melodrama rather than to the secular riches of America.

Richard Pells, a U.S. historian at the University of Texas, thinks there's an important lesson in this: The popularity of American culture in the Old World will remain a mystery so long as we ignore the specific appeal it holds for Europeans. If Lang had considered who was watching *Dallas* and why, Pells suggests, they would have seen a different, *Europeanized* show. As Pells puts it in his new study, *Not Like Us: How Europeans Have Loved, Hated, and Transformed American Culture Since World War II* (Basic): "Along the way, *Dallas*—together with Hollywood and Hemingway, Elvis Presley and Michael Jordan, Coca-Cola and McDonald's—became as characteristically European as they had once been uniquely American."



While a European minister of culture would no doubt rather walk on hot coals than be publicly identified with Pells's pro-American argument, Pells intends it, oddly enough, as praise. In his view, the oft lamented Americanization of Europe is a shibboleth. He doesn't deny that Europe has experienced a deluge of American products since the end of World War II. But he has greater confidence than Lang in the ability of Western European societies to "preserve their national and ethnic identities while participating fully in the modern global economy." He also thinks that most Europeans wouldn't have had it any other way.

Echoing Reinhold Wagneleitner, an Austrian historian of American Cold War culture, Pells argues that "coca-colonization" by American political and commercial interests was ultimately less significant than the enthusiastic "self-colonization" brought about by Europeans themselves. America's consumer conveniences were welcomed by the European youths whom Jean-Luc Godard dubbed "the children of Marx and Coca-Cola." And despite its objections to American diplomacy, Europe's radical intelligentsia found inspiration in Hemingway's clipped prose, Charlie Parker's alto riffs, and the Forties film noir.

In a sense, *Not Like Us* is the first truly post–Cold War treatment of the American cultural invasion of Europe. The Cold War, that central fact of American and European political life until 1989, is downplayed, in favor of an emphasis on the allure of consumer culture and the fortunes of national identity in a globalizing world.

To be sure, Pells isn't insensitive to the Cultural Cold war's significance. After writing two encyclopedic surveys of twentieth-century American intellectual life, he was, in fact, all set to research the careers of American thinkers and their ideas abroad. In the fall of 1983, while lecturing at the University of Brno in Czechoslovakia, Pells glimpsed this expatriate history in a signature. The university rector showed him a copy of a guestbook signed, in 1947, by the first postwar lecturer in American studies: F.O. Matthiessen, author of *American Renaissance*. Pells wondered, "What was Matthiessen doing in Brno? What was I doing in Brno?" The answer, he assumed, "lay in the alliance between American culture and Washington's foreign policy." About a third of *Not Like Us* explores this alliance, in which the State Department, the United States Information Agency, the CIA, and the Voice of America, as well as universities and private foundations joined forces to make Western Europeans "just like us" in the struggle against Soviet communism.

But the further he probed, the more he came to doubt the American state's ability to mold European perceptions of America. There were, for example, times when such efforts positively

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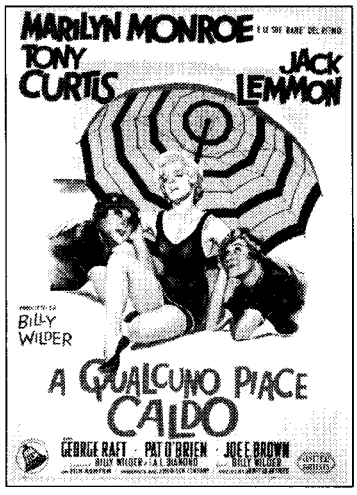
flopped. In 1953, while the United States was seeking to convince the Europeans that theirs was an open society, McCarthy's hatchet men blazed through Europe, ordering the removal from American embassy libraries of books by "subversive" writers like Mark Twain and John Dewey. Around the same time, under pressure from right-wing congressmen, the USIA banned artists with past radical involvements from its foreign exhibits. This was not, needless to say, the most effective way to introduce Europeans to American cultural tolerance.

Pells discovered, furthermore, that even when Europeans embraced American culture they often remained indifferent to official American dictates. Determined to prove they had a high culture equal to Europe's, the Americans studiously advertised their concert music and art, while, more often than not, Europeans just as studiously ignored them, preferring America's jazz, Hollywood films, and rock and roll. Again and again, Pells found himself confronting the limits of American power.

Then history itself intruded, lending support to Pells's change of perspective: In 1989, the Cold War abruptly ground to a halt. "Suddenly," says Pells, "telling the story of the cultural Cold War seemed much less urgent." The U.S.–Soviet rivalry was finished. By contrast, Hollywood—and Europe's embattled relationship to it and other leviathans of American culture—was forever.

For a work of cultural criticism, *Not Like Us* presents an unusually sunny interpretation of globalization, as Pells himself admits: "Some people will say I'm much too untroubled by the impact of American culture, and much too optimistic about the capacity of Europeans to resist it." Where critics have predicted the encroaching evaporation of local flavor in the gumbo of Yankee capitalism ("a cultural Chernobyl"), Pells sees a more fluid "process of cross-fertilization." The relationship, he concedes, hasn't always been an equal one. But neither has Europe lacked for influence on American culture—witness the importation of French cooking, Italian fashion, British pop music, and German critical theory. Perhaps even more importantly, America's longtime monopoly on the business of culture has crumbled with the rise of Sony, Rupert Murdoch, and other arrivistes. Whether all this spells a "reinforcement of cultural diversity," as Pells claims, is, however, open to debate.

By far the most provocative suggestion of *Not Like Us* is that Europeans secretly gained the upper hand in their relationship with American mass culture. Taking a cue from contemporary cultural studies, Pells admiringly portrays Europeans as empowered rather than passive consumers, "'Europeanizing' whatever they received from the United States"—and forcing American business to adapt to their demands. Pells is willing to take this argument to its logical extreme: McDonald's. If the Champs-Elysées hasn't been quite the same since McDonald's became a resident, argues Pells, neither has McDonald's. There's Perrier and beer on the menu; the salad dressing has more mustard and less sugar than usual; and, as John Travolta's character in *Pulp Fiction* reports, the Big Mac is a "Royale with cheese."



Pells's cheerful gloss on the gorgeous mosaic of globalization is not likely to win over those with fond memories of Europe before the arrival of fast food and MTV. But even so, he urges the reader to remember that "a lot of the changes that Europeans attribute to Americanization result from *modernization*, from changes in the workday and urbanization." America, in other words, has supplied Europe's secular priests with a reliable bogeyman in a "cultural battle not only between Europe and America, but between intellectuals and commoners, parents and children, inside Europe itself." For intellectuals, the popularity of American culture serves as a baleful reminder of their fading prestige among the working class, while for parents it conjures up their children's flight from discipline. Strangely enough, and arguably despite itself, American mass culture in Europe has helped stir a youthful rebellion with distinctly populist undertones—a rebellion that now promises to reach the entire earth.

That possibility sits just fine with Pells, an adoptive Texan. "Sometimes, I think, the masses are a lot more knowing than their mentors," he says. Will the children of Mao and Coca-Cola in twenty-first-century China lead a similar cultural revolution? If they do, they are sure to find a few powerful American friends.

ADAM SHATZ

PHOTOFEST

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CONDUCTORS' LIVES MATTER

THE CONDUCTOR GUNTHER SCHULLER worries, in the preface to his new book, *The Compleat Conductor* (Oxford), that some of his opinions might be dismissed as "the ravings of a grumpy frustrated curmudgeon." It's not an unreasonable concern. Schuller—the renowned scholar and former president of the New England Con-servatory of Music—*is* grumpy and frustrated, at odds with much of what's going on in the contemporary music world.

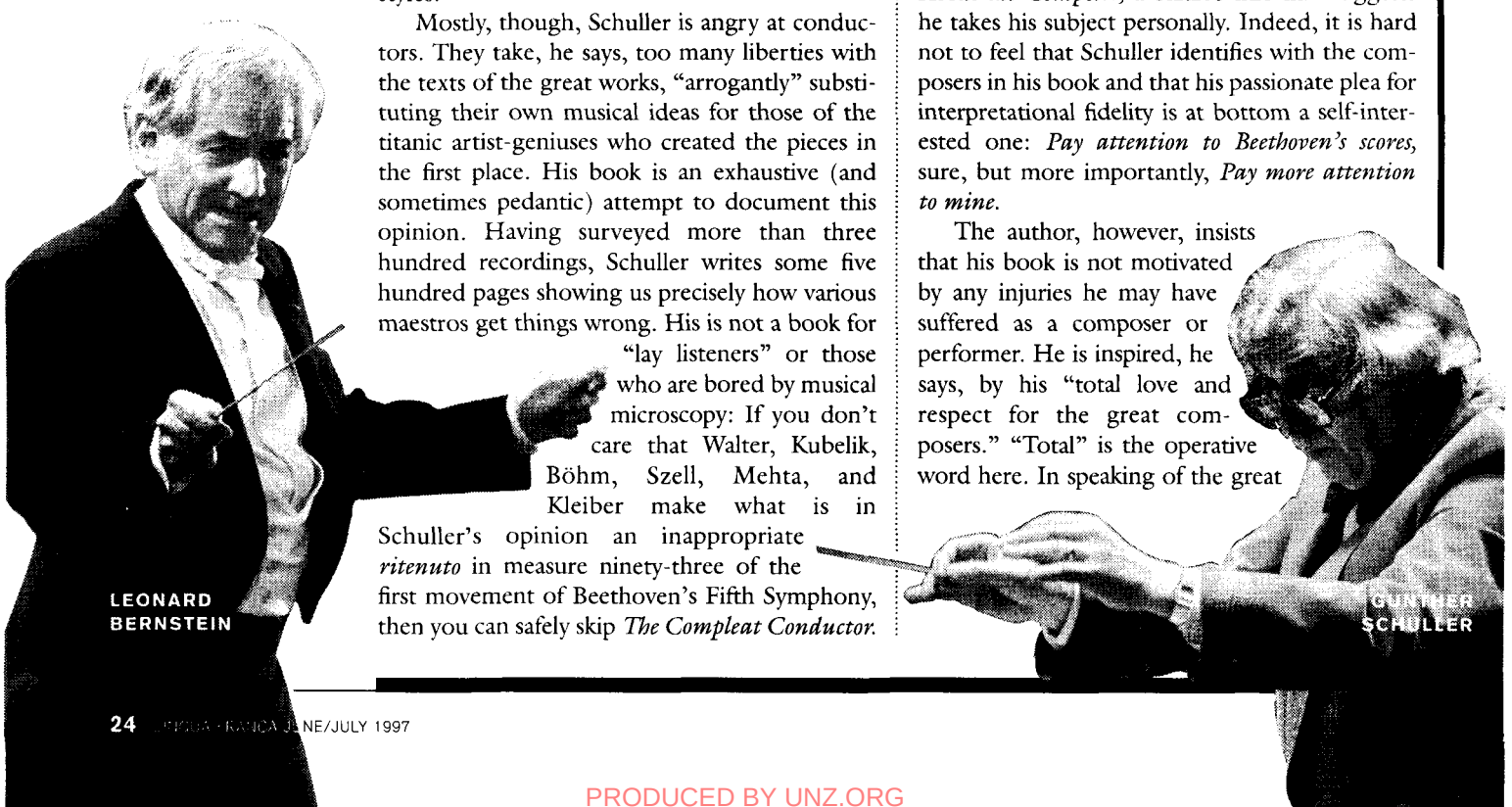
He thinks rock music is just too damn loud. He feels conductors ought not to hop up and down like Leonard Bernstein did. He rejects the "invalid" musical judgments of "lay listeners"—people who can't read music but who know that they prefer, say, Bernstein's conducting to Carlos Kleiber's. He disparages the use of "period instruments" to recreate the original sounds of the great works of the European canon. And he dismisses (as "trendy, anachronistic, neo-Romantic stylistic pleasantries") the work of contemporary composers who have abandoned the orthodoxies of mid-century modernism in favor of more accessible, populist styles.

Mostly, though, Schuller is angry at conductors. They take, he says, too many liberties with the texts of the great works, "arrogantly" substituting their own musical ideas for those of the titanic artist-geniuses who created the pieces in the first place. His book is an exhaustive (and sometimes pedantic) attempt to document this opinion. Having surveyed more than three hundred recordings, Schuller writes some five hundred pages showing us precisely how various maestros get things wrong. His is not a book for "lay listeners" or those who are bored by musical microscopy: If you don't care that Walter, Kubelik, Böhm, Szell, Mehta, and Kleiber make what is in Schuller's opinion an inappropriate *ritenuto* in measure ninety-three of the first movement of Beethoven's Fifth Symphony, then you can safely skip *The Compleat Conductor.*

If, however, you *do* care about such things—if you are a conductor, composer, scholar, or just obsessed with musical performance, the way conspiracy theorists are obsessed with bullet trajectories—then Schuller's polemic is required reading. For even if one were to disregard the bulk of Schuller's aesthetic evaluations, as some readers undoubtedly will, his text remains an invaluable source of information about how conductors actually interpret musical scores. Regardless of how you feel about all those *ritenuti*, it is interesting to know that some conductors make them and others don't.

It is not surprising that Schuller should have formed some forceful and idiosyncratic opinions about the state of contemporary conducting. He is an innovative and celebrated polymath who has distinguished himself in an impressively wide range of musical pursuits. An accomplished composer, educator, author, publisher, arranger, and tireless promoter of others' works, he spent the first two decades of his professional life playing French horn in symphony orchestras. There he witnessed firsthand the conductorial misdemeanors described in *The Compleat Conductor.* ("In my twenty-five years of playing," Schuller says, "I was very rational and calm. I knew I was being asked to do things that were not rational and not correct, but I didn't get upset about it. I just said, someday I'm going to write a book about this.") Schuller the composer has also had opportunities to observe the dark side of conducting. "I've had pieces murdered," he says. "I've had to take bows when all I wanted was to crawl out of the concert hall." Schuller originally wanted to call his book *Nobody Gives a Damn About the Composer,* a bizarre title that suggests he takes his subject personally. Indeed, it is hard not to feel that Schuller identifies with the composers in his book and that his passionate plea for interpretational fidelity is at bottom a self-interested one: *Pay attention to Beethoven's scores,* sure, but more importantly, *Pay more attention to mine.*

The author, however, insists that his book is not motivated by any injuries he may have suffered as a composer or performer. He is inspired, he says, by his "total love and respect for the great composers." "Total" is the operative word here. In speaking of the great



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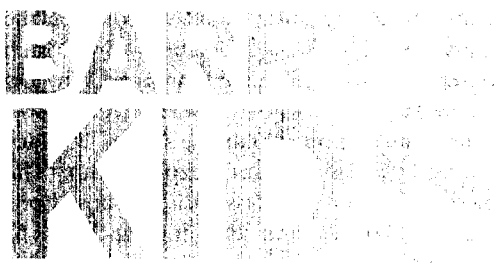
composers in the Western tradition, Schuller exhibits a reverence bordering on fanaticism. ("Beethoven is a thousand times greater musician *and man* than anyone conducting his music today," he insists.) This traditionalist attitude toward musical creativity will perhaps prove to be the book's most controversial aspect. Academic musicology has lately caught the skeptical, canon-bashing fever that long ago affected the other humanities: Reverence is out; blasé skepticism is in. In this context, Schuller's central aesthetic dictum—that we have a moral duty to stand in awe before the magnificent outpourings of superhuman compositional genius—looks rather quaint. No doubt many readers will balk at his stern and worshipful approach to the music of the past, wanting instead some more explicit recognition of the simple fact that we listen to music, ultimately, because it is fun.

It would do *The Compleat Conductor* an injustice to single out just one of its controversial claims. (The book is so provocative, even outrageous, that Schuller jokes about "having to move to north Greenland and buy a bulletproof vest.") Yet readers are perhaps more likely to be baffled than angered by Schuller's many provocations. Consider his seeming inability to comprehend that a conductor might make an interpretive decision without implying that this choice is the only correct one or that listeners might prefer a performance simply because they like it and not because they believe that it is, objectively, the *best* performance. "Conductors take liberties with absolute conviction that what they're doing is better and right," he says. "And if someone says that he likes one performance better, the implication is that the other one is not as good."

Or consider Schuller's insistence that questions of enjoyment have no place in a book such as his. He implies that, by identifying the ways in which conductors deviate from their scores, he has settled the important aesthetic questions. But most readers will doubtless want to discuss issues of fidelity in the context of larger, more explicitly aesthetic questions. What, ultimately, does it matter if conductors deviate here and there from their scores? What if the listening public just prefers Bernstein's majestic recording of Beethoven's Fifth to Norrington's literal but ludicrously fast version? And why should we treat interpretations as if they were either right or wrong? One can search in vain throughout *The Compleat Conductor*'s nearly 550 pages for satisfactory answers to these elementary aesthetic questions. When pressed on those matters by *Lingua Franca,* Schuller grew agitated and finally dismissed the issue of taste altogether. "That," he said, "is a whole different nondiscussion."

DMITRI TYMOCZKO



WHEN THE RADICAL GROUP STUDENTS FOR a Democratic Society smoldered into oblivion during the summer of 1969, it left behind two tiny militant cells. One of those cells, the Weathermen, needed to raise some cash for its terrorist activities, so it sold off the files of the SDS national office in New York to the State Historical Society of Wisconsin for $300. Radicalism's loss was radical history's gain: A Wisconsin archivist removed thirty-four cartons of documents from the SDS office's piles of garbage, dirty clothes, and used prophylactics just as the police arrived to raid the joint. This priceless archive of left-wing student politics now reposes in Madison on microfilm, available to anyone with access to interlibrary loan.

If you want to study Sixties conservatism, however, you'd better be ready to rack up some frequent-flyer miles. The archives of Young Americans for Freedom, SDS's counterpart on the right, are scattered across the country. Which makes John A. Andrew III's scrupulously researched new book, *The Other Side of the Sixties: Young Americans for Freedom and the Rise of Conservative Politics* (Rutgers), a prodigious feat indeed.

YAF still exists, a diminutive shell of its former self, but its national office turned Andrew away—perhaps out of embarrassment that its archives are bare. Refusing defeat, Andrew chased down one YAF leader from the Sixties, a reputed pack rat, only to find that the man had just finished tossing out the boxes of YAF documents that were moldering in his

THIERRY BOCCON-GIBOD/SIPA PRESS (LEFT); JEFF THIEBAUTH, NEW ENGLAND CONSERVATORY (RIGHT)

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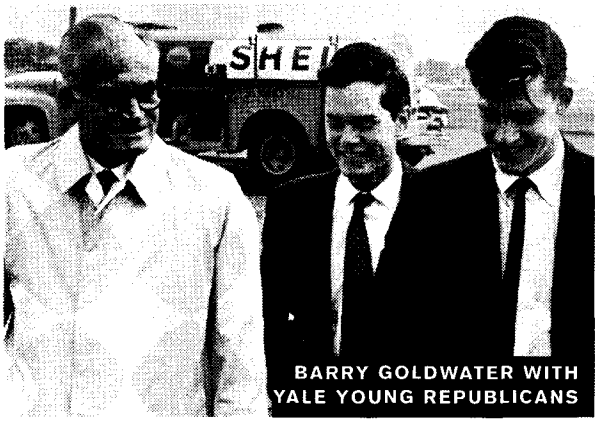
garage. Andrew's next step was to track down the personal papers of conservative guru and YAF supporter Barry Goldwater. But the material Goldwater had deposited in the Arizona Historical Foundation turned out to be "nothing but greeting cards," says Andrew ruefully. Eventually, however, his diligence paid off. At the Library of Congress, Andrew found the archives of former *National Review* publisher William Rusher, who spent much of the early Sixties trying to micromanage YAF's affairs

From these travails, Andrew has assembled a convincing prehistory of the conservative ascendancy in American politics—one that promises to overturn some of our basic assumptions about Sixties idealism. Andrew argues that it was young rightists who, prior to the escalation of the Vietnam War, wrote the book on ideological combat. Veterans of student campaigns in favor of anti-communist loyalty oaths and the House Un-American Activities Committee, college kids—some too young to vote—were at the center of the movement to draft arch-conservative Barry Goldwater as vice presidential nom-inee at the 1960 Rep-ublican National Convention in Chicago. The Arizonan didn't come close to toppling the party's establishment that year, but Goldwater's young acolytes nursed their frustrations in Chicago by plotting a conservative activist organization, which became Young Americans for Freedom that fall.



BARRY GOLDWATER WITH YALE YOUNG REPUBLICANS

Thirty thousand strong by 1964, YAF was among the groups that refined the conservative nostrums that now fall so trippingly off the tongue of even our Democratic President: The state governs best that governs least; handouts hurt the poor; moral rectitude and entrepreneurship are the surest route to a strong polity.

But despite a legacy everywhere in evidence today, YAF was troubled in its early years by problems of self-definition: Should the new organization style itself a disciplined vanguard or a pluralistic big tent? Agree on a coherent ideology before plunging into activism? Work within the Republican Party or outside it? And then there was the trickiest challenge of all: how to inspire a student public enervated by years of Milquetoast consensus to embrace a strong political ideology? The student left would face familiar questions in the years ahead.

One of the more arresting chapters in Andrew's book details John F. Kennedy's little-known campaign to harass the radical right. Concerned about the expansion of the John Birch Society as well as the appearance of the nation's first right-wing militia, the Minutemen, President Kennedy approved a series of IRS audits against right-wing groups of every description. "Once the IRS started auditing these organizations, they did a thoroughly professional job," marvels Andrews. "They went out and collected speeches, films, pamphlets, documents, posters from telephone poles—everything."

These IRS records would help address any number of unresolved historiographic questions: How widespread was militant antigovernment sentiment in the Age of Consensus? To what extent did the state equate legitimate conservative groups like YAF with outlaws like the Minutemen? But Andrew could not put together the whole story. Although he was able to view some of the IRS materials—with the names of all organizations blacked out—through a Freedom of Information Act request, most of the papers remain unaccounted for. "The IRS has not deposited any of its records in the National Archives for fifty years, which violates federal law," says Andrew. "It's driving me bananas."

When the *American Historical Review* held a forum on conservatism in 1994, one of the papers asked, "Why Is There So Much Conservatism in the United States and Why Do So Few Historians Know Anything About It?" In his contribution, Columbia's Alan Brinkley proffered an ideological explanation: The American historical profession is composed primarily of liberals and therefore inclined to ignore the right. Andrew, who describes his field's predominant political sentiment as "wimpy moderate" demurs. The problem isn't the ideological constitution of the historical profession—it's the robust constitution of the pioneers of the New Right. "They're not dying!" he says. "When they do, their papers will become available. People writing dissertations will begin exploring them to understand why conservatism was so significant. Then you'll have a whole bunch of liberals saying that the historical profession was taken over by conservatives in the Nineties!"

RICK PERLSTEIN

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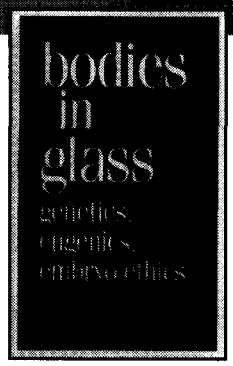

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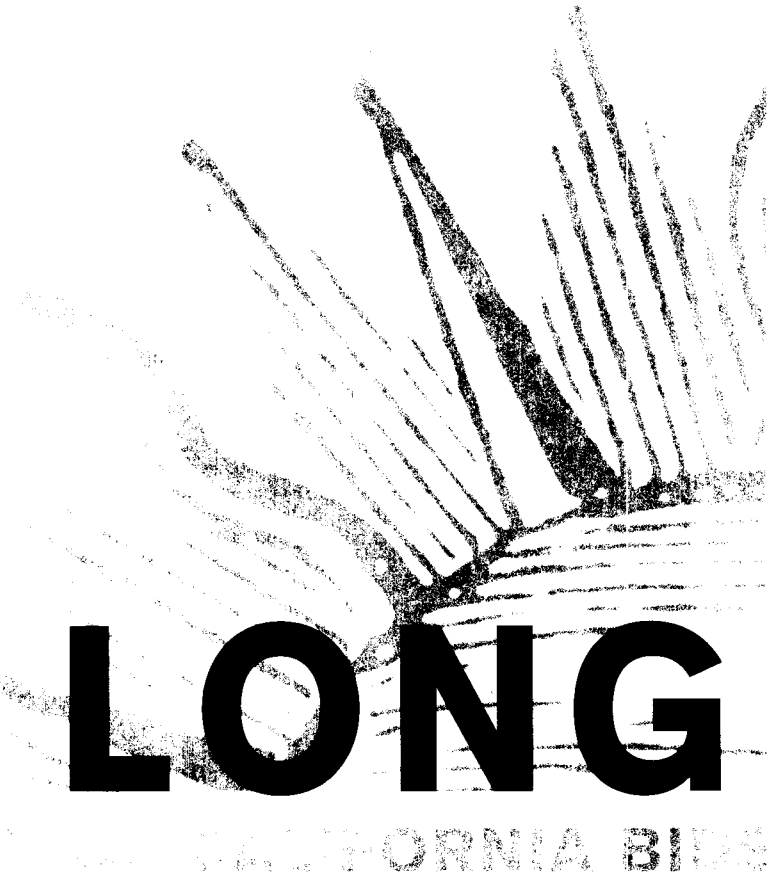


THE LONG

THE UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA BID

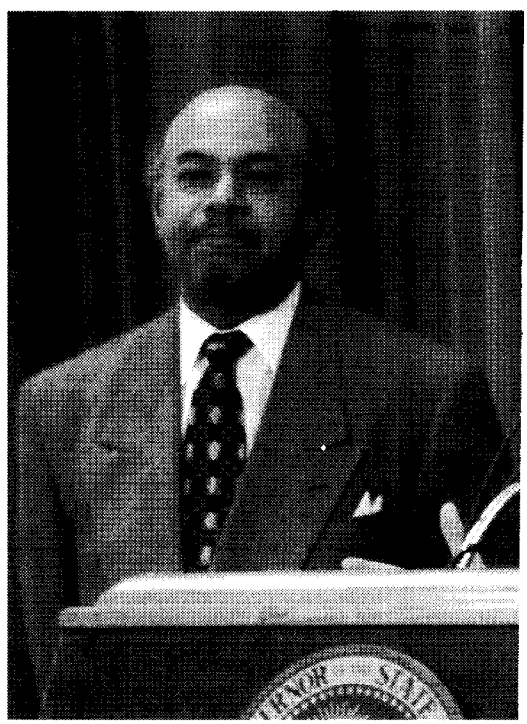
PROVOCATIVE SUGGESTIONS COME naturally to Ward Connerly, the University of California regent who led the successful drive to rid the nine-campus system of its thirty-year-old affirmative action policies.

Connerly wasn't kidding when he said the university should go colorblind, and so even after his triumph in passing SP-1, the regents' resolution that ended affirmative action in admissions, he continued hunting down all vestiges of race-conscious decision-making in the university. This mission recently led him to advocate anonymous applications. The only way to guarantee a race-neutral regime, he insisted, was to blot out applicants' names—lest admissions officers give in to the temptation to sneak in a Pablo Diaz or a Willie Washington ahead of a better qualified Suzie Wong or George O'Leary, to cite his own examples.

"For someone who wants to use race through the back door, these names would tell us this person is in an under-represented group," Connerly explained. Instead, he urged, UC should follow the example of state bar exams and real estate licenses, relying on social security numbers to avoid "contaminating" the selection process.

"There are some admissions officers who have been fighting SP-1 from the very day it was passed," Connerly charged, explaining that he issued his proposal because he distrusted the intentions of university employees. "Why should we now think they've got religion and they're going to comply with the resolution? If you have a culture of resistance, which we have at many of our campuses, where people are going to defy the will of the regents, we're well-advised to eliminate that one overriding indicator of a person's ethnicity—the name."

Not surprisingly, admissions officers took umbrage at the suggestion of a conspiracy afoot to evade SP-1. "I'd like to see him say it in a way that would make it slander," huffed UCLA director of undergraduate admissions Rae Lee Siporin. "I've been a professional in higher education for twenty-nine years, and I resent having my credibility and integrity impugned in that way." Administrators like Siporin further argued that the effort to remove indicators of ethnicity from applications was self-defeating. To eliminate names from the picture, all test reports and transcripts would have to be sanitized. But to purge an application of racial hints means students would have to omit from their essays that English is their second language, for example, or that they grew up in Watts or Chinatown. This appeared to violate Connerly's own instruction that campuses should give individual applicants a closer look, reading every personal essay in search of diamonds in the rough.



BY **PAMELA BURDMAN**

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GOODBYE

FAREWELL TO AFFIRMATIVE ACTION

Connerly's suggestion ended up going nowhere. But that it could be made at all testifies to the considerable animosity and suspicion that surround the University of California system as it embarks on an unprecedented experiment in the abolition of affirmative action. A tour of the University of California today reveals an academic world in turmoil. Regents mistrust administrators. Administrators busily try to placate intrusive politicians and angry professors. Faculty members speak out loudly against the regents' decision, even as they also confront divisions within their own ranks over the virtues of affirmative action. In short, the California system has been plunged into what feminist theorist Judith Butler terms nothing less than an "epistemic crisis." As advocates of affirmative action find themselves on the defensive across the country, it's a scenario that could play itself out in many other states as well.

CALIFORNIA GOVERNOR PETE WILSON, RIGHT, AND WARD CONNERLY, LEFT, SPEAK TO REPORTERS ON APRIL 8, 1997

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

NONE OF THAT was predicted back in late 1994, when Connerly and the board of regents embarked on their six-month review of affirmative action programs in the nation's most ethnically diverse state. Connerly is a Sacramento land-use consultant and longtime friend of Pete Wilson, the Republican governor who appointed him to the board in 1993. Like Wilson, he is no right-wing extremist: He defends women's right to choose, and within UC he has emerged as both a fierce opponent of student fee hikes and a vigorous advocate of domestic-partner benefits. But when it comes to affirmative action, his views have enraged many on California's campuses. A lightning rod in the statewide debate, Connerly holds forth on the subject with an eloquence and passion that look like charismatic conviction to his supporters and brash opportunism to his detractors. Argumentative and thin-skinned, he has tangled with fellow African Americans like Berkeley sociologist Troy Duster over whether he himself is a product of affirmative action. In fact, he says it was his lifelong reluctance to live under the cloud of affirmative action that shaped his views about race—though critics say his championing of the issue at UC was well-timed to dovetail with Governor Wilson's own campaign about affirmative action.

It was Connerly who authored SP-1's groundbreaking statement that "the University of California shall not use race, religion, sex, ethnicity, or national origin as criteria for admission to the University or to any program of study." Toting along SP-1, and a companion measure, SP-2, which forbade the use of race and gender in hiring and contracting, Connerly brought the

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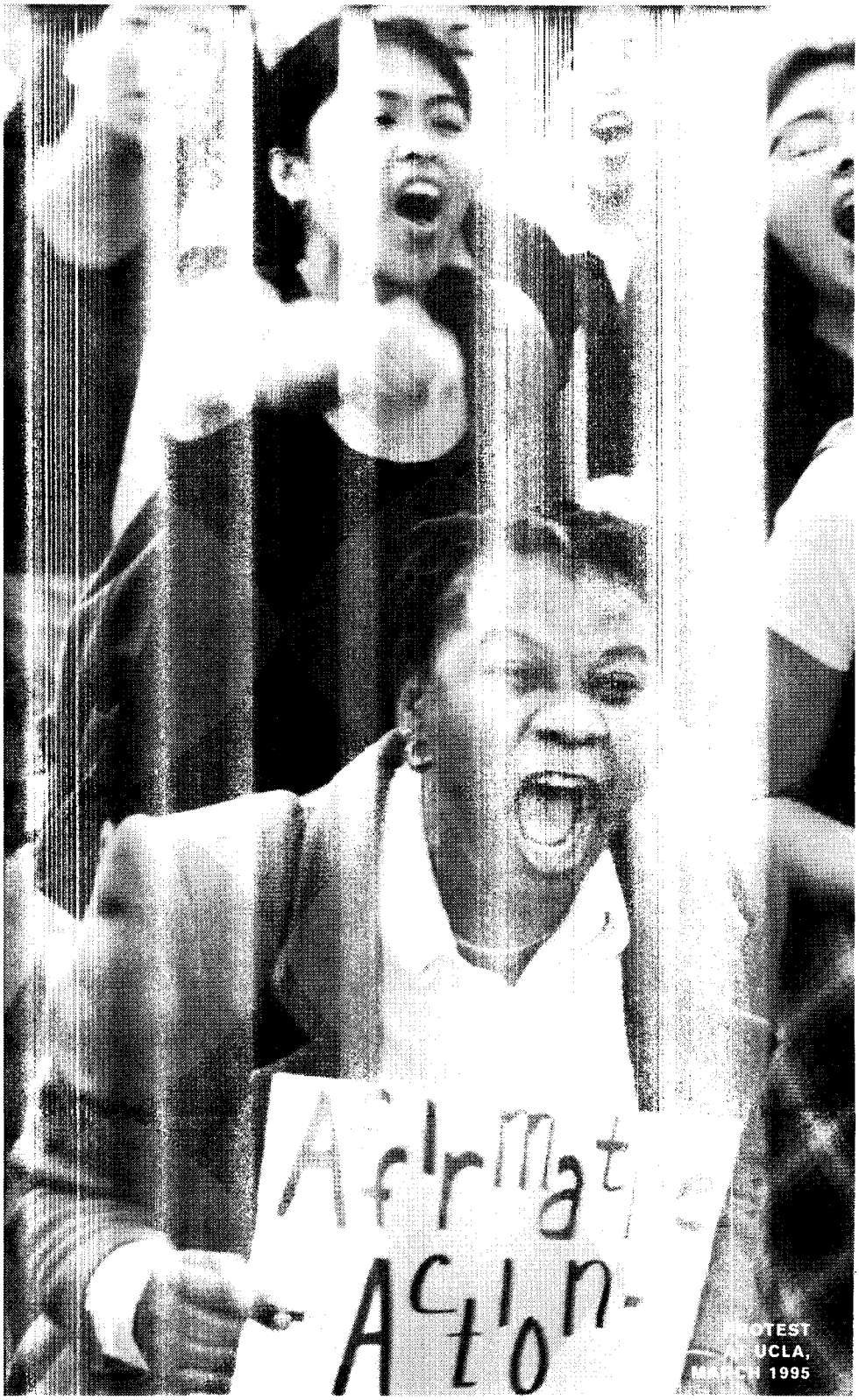
affirmative action issue to a boil at the Regents board in a packed meeting on July 20, 1995. The politically charged atmosphere surrounding the meeting was accentuated by the presence of Jesse Jackson, who had come to articulate the case for affirmative action, and Governor Wilson, who came in his capacity as ex-officio regent and an outspokenly anti–affirmative action presidential candidate. Wilson also had a certain sway over the board: All eighteen appointed regents on the twenty-six-member board owed their seats to Wilson or the previous Republican governor.

After twelve hours, countless speeches by members of the university community, several disruptions by noisy demonstrators, and one bomb threat, the regents held their historic vote. They split fourteen to nine with one abstention in favor of SP-1 and fifteen to ten for SP-2. Within months, Connerly became chairman of the campaign for the state's anti-preference ballot initiative, Proposition 209, which California voters approved in November 1996. Connerly has since gone on to start an organization devoted to rooting out preferences nationwide. Meanwhile, Proposition 209 has cleared its first legal hurdle, and the University of California has become a national test case for the dismantling of affirmative action.

Several prongs of the regents' resolution are already the law at UC. New hiring and contracting policies took effect more than a year ago but with little immediate impact, because they are largely overridden by federal affirmative action statutes. Graduate and professional school applicants are already confronting the new rules—this fall, students will enter classes chosen under the regents' rules. But at the moment, all eyes are on the undergraduate admissions offices as they prepare to read applications next January for the first freshman class of the post–affirmative action era.



PROTEST AT UCLA, MARCH 1995

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

IT'S SPRING break, one week after the last acceptance letters have gone out for the fall's freshman class, and Richard Backer is staring at a stack of sixty letters from angry parents whose children weren't admitted. Among them are students who graduated from California high schools with 4.0 averages. It's still early in the season, and Backer expects another 400 or so appeals.

As UC-San Diego's assistant vice-chancellor for enrollment management, Backer already knows that few of his responses will carry good news. He says, "The most difficult part is responding to parents who come to you saying 'We're Caucasian, and my son or daughter didn't get in, and they had a classmate who's from an underrepresented population who's not nearly as strong academically, and they got in, and that's not fair.' It's the toughest part of the job." Not having to deal with such letters is a small benefit to what he sees as a regrettable new situation.

Then again, the change won't prevent thousands of aspirants to UC's

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top schools from being turned away. Under the state's longtime master plan, the top one-eighth of the state's graduating seniors are guaranteed a UC education. But since 1973, when Berkeley started turning away eligible students, followed by UCLA in 1980, the state's best students have not been assured of going to the campus of their choice. This year only Riverside and Santa Cruz accepted all applicants whose grades put them in the top eighth. Meanwhile, Berkeley officials say they turned away more applications this spring than any college in history.

SP-1 mandates that race and ethnicity not be factors in the allocation of these precious places. But the resolution does not require campuses to select students on the basis of academics alone. Under the new rules, schools can choose 25 to 50 percent of their freshmen on the basis of criteria that include special talents, disabilities, geographic location, and evidence of overcoming economic or social disadvantages. The latter, as codified in SP-1, includes "an abusive or otherwise dysfunctional home or a neighborhood of unwholesome or antisocial influences"—language that became the butt of jokes and the subject of academic exegesis.

Following these provisions, each campus has tried to come up with selection criteria that maintain substantial levels of diversity while jibing with the new rules. At San Diego, an admissions committee of professors, administrators, and students thought it had found a clever new criterion—but the plan backfired.

While abandoning its practice of assigning an extra three hundred points to black, Latino, and Native American applicants, the committee decided to add a sliding scale worth zero to nine hundred points for something called "Academic Potential and Promise in a Limited Educational and Social Environment." The category relied on a complicated index that evaluated California high schools not only on academic measures, such as graduation rate, college-attendance rate, and the percentage of students taking geometry, but also on socioeconomic factors, such as the number of students who speak English as a second language or whose families are on welfare.

Only one San Diego high school earned nine hundred points—tiny Borrego Springs. But to students at Torrey Pines and La Jolla, in San Diego's toniest neighborhoods, the scale allotted a disappointing zero points. The thinking went that students at those schools would have plenty of other ways to score points: Honors, awards, and special talents could net six hundred points and leadership or community service another four hundred.

But the proposal incited an angry reaction from some San Diego residents. "My wife and I have worked for almost twenty years to purchase a home in a top-performing school district—for which we paid a premium price," wrote one man in a letter to the local board of supervisors, according to the *San Diego Union-Tribune*'s Sunday real estate section. "The proposal would penalize my three children's opportunity to attend UCSD solely because their parents moved them to a residence in the Torrey Pines High School enrollment area." In response to such complaints, the county assessor's office analyzed the likely effect on property values in exclusive neighborhoods—it found none.

Still, the outcry presented no small public relations problem. No matter how administrators explained the strategy, parents saw that UCSD was ranking high schools—and instead of rewarding graduates of the best schools, it seemed in effect to be punishing them. As word of the plan got out, Connerly conceded that it followed the guidelines of SP-1 but savaged the plan's architects anyway: "These folks have been working overtime trying to come up with surrogates for race. The taxpayers ought to be marching over the hill with pitchforks." It wasn't long before UCSD's new chancellor Robert C. Dynes nudged the committee to reconsider its approach. "The fact that there was such an uproar meant it was a bad idea," said Dynes.

Determined to provide some boost for those students who succeeded at schools offering few honors courses or those with no counselors, the UCSD committee shelved the point system in favor of a binary system. A student can get credit for each of eight supplemental criteria including "social

IN THE EARLY DAYS AFTER THE REGENTS' VOTE STUDENT PROTESTS WERE LOUD AND FREQUENT

MICHAEL SCHUMANN / SABA

DEMONSTRATION OUTSIDE THE JULY 1995 BOARD OF REGENTS MEETING

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environment" and "educational environment"—for kids from low-income families or whose parents didn't go to college.

At San Diego, these criteria may open doors for underrepresented minority students. But Berkeley and UCLA have already been using such criteria, say admissions officers there, and have no new admissions guidelines to offer. Only now, they say, white and Asian students who don't get admitted will have no one to blame. "There are going to be eighteen thousand parents who are not going to get their kids in," said Siporin. "We could eliminate all underrepresented minorities in the freshman class, and I would still be turning down 4.0 students."

IN THE ENTIRE debate over affirmative action, neither side has stated that diversity is unimportant. But in the zero-sum game of admissions, how much diversity UC can preserve is still unknown.

Foes of preferences often argue that it's racist to insist that a diverse student body requires affirmative action; after all, couldn't minorities make it into UC on their own steam? During the historic regents meeting of July 20, 1995, Governor Wilson himself scrawled out a "Diversity Rider," which was added to SP-1. It reads: "Believing California's diversity to be an asset, we adopt this statement: Because individual members of all of California's diverse races have the intelligence and capacity to succeed at the University of California, this policy will achieve a UC population that reflects this state's diversity through the preparation and empowerment of all students in this state to succeed rather than through a system of artificial preferences."

Wilson's words might have sounded heartening. But veterans of the admissions office argue that the successful "empowerment of all students in this state" is a goal that's unlikely be attained for a long time. According to UC's outreach task force, only 5.1 percent of African Americans and 3.9 percent of Latinos who graduate from the state's public high schools are eligible to attend UC—compared with 12.7 percent of whites and 32.2 percent of Asians.

"The regents' policy is inherently and profoundly self-contradictory. It asks the university to achieve a 'population that reflects the state's diversity' while depriving it of an instrument indispensable to the attainment of that diversity," said Jerome Karabel, a UC-Berkeley sociologist who has spent much of his career studying university admissions.

Though Berkeley and UCLA's impact reports projected only a thousand or so more seats opening up to whites and Asian Americans, such a shift would still cut the number of underrepresented minorities on those campuses by half or more. (In 1995, Asians constituted 40 percent of Berkeley students, while whites were 31 percent, Latinos 14 percent, blacks 6 percent, and Native Americans 1 percent.) Other unknowns make the overall effect on the UC system impossible to predict. For example, most of the students who would not make the cut at the most selective campuses would still be eligible at another UC campus. This so-called "cascade effect" could keep the overall ethnic balance of the California system roughly the same. Administrators are not counting on that, however. Siporin and her counterparts at Berkeley suspect that many of the thousand or so minority kids who might be turned away from their campuses will wind up at one of the elite private schools that tend to dangle attractive financial aid packages before them.

Unless private schools also move to lift preferences, the competition among schools for top-scoring minority students ensures those kids a quality education. But even so, the California policy raises serious questions about the responsibility of selective public colleges to serve all sectors of society. In a yet-to-be-published paper, Thomas J. Kane of Harvard's Kennedy School of Government concludes that a nationwide end to affirmative action would eliminate opportunities for minorities only at elite colleges. But for those schools, Kane predicts, the effects would be dramatic. "Selective colleges are likely to have to choose between race-blindness in admissions and a semblance of racial diversity on campus," writes Kane, echoing the predictions of UC administrators and professors.

THE CONSEQUENCES

of California's choice are already beginning to trouble some state leaders. In late March, Democratic state senators held a hearing to examine an unprecedented 22 percent drop in the number of non-Asian minorities applying to UC's five medical schools.

The decline in applications for next fall comes on top of a 24 percent drop in minorities in UC's current first-year medical class. All this confirms admissions officers' worst fears—that they will have a harder time recruiting minority whiz kids simply because those students may find UC's climate less hospitable than that of a school with more minorities. It's a prospect that seems ironic to some medical school administrators, who note that the need for more minority doctors was an original impetus behind affirmative action in higher education.

KRISTEN LOKEN

At the senate hearing in California's statehouse, UC-Berkeley senior Dustin Paz told the senators what less hos-

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pitable means: Though the molecular biology student's 3.78 average—and score of thirty-eight points out of forty-five on the MCAT—have already won him places at Harvard and Johns Hopkins, he has been wait-listed at UCSF, and his UC-Davis application is on hold. Berkeley graduates at the East Coast schools tell him they prefer being away from the politics in California, and he is leaning that way, too.

Michael Drake, a UCSF professor of ophthalmology and associate dean of admissions who has spent years recruiting some of the nation's most talented underrepresented minorities to the school, says SP-1 and Proposition 209 are making his job harder. "The contentiousness of the debate really does make us look like a less welcoming place," he said. Connerly, who grew up in Louisiana and still recalls the humiliation of drinking from a coloreds only fountain, doesn't buy it. And he says so with typical gusto. "These kids are going to tell us at the beginning of the twenty-first century that they don't feel welcome? We have people in the sixties who had to be escorted to school with guards and bayonets."

KRISTEN LOKEN

IF THE AFFIRMATIVE

action decision has turned admissions offices upside down, it hasn't been much kinder to the UC system's conflicted top officials or to its often confused faculty. At Berkeley, a group of prominent left-leaning professors has been especially outspoken in its opposition to the regents' decision. But discussions of SP-1 have also revealed strong misgivings about affirmative action throughout UC. The debate has only been exacerbated by the fact that it concerns the persnickety question of who runs the university, as well as the contested legitimacy of affirmative action itself.

Richard C. Atkinson squirms whenever the question of affirmative action comes up. As UC president, he is responsible for turning the affirmative action battleship, yet it's no secret that he dislikes the idea. In July 1995, while still chancellor at UCSD, Atkinson joined with the other eight UC chancellors, then-president Jack Peltason, and all nine of UC's academic senates in a public statement urging the regents not to mess with affirmative action.

Despite his stand, Atkinson was appointed president of the system three months later. It wasn't long, however, before the regents showed him that on the subject of SP-1 he had little breathing room. When he tried to extend the measure's implementation date, which some considered an administrative decision, Connerly cried insubordination. So did Governor Wilson, who summoned the president to the statehouse, making no bones about the fact that Atkinson's was a firing offense. Only after Atkinson penned a public statement bowing to the regents' authority did they back off, canceling a special meeting called for the purpose of reviewing his performance.

Conservatives were relieved. "The regents are in control of the asylum," squawked regent Glenn Campbell, a seventy-year-old scholar at the Hoover Institution. But some faculty were displeased by Atkinson's concessions. Ethnic studies professor Ronald Takaki says, "I wish Atkinson had stood up to the regents and said 'we need to rethink this.' He should have had the regents fire him." Had that happened, Takaki speculates, "There would have been a faculty rebellion up and down California."

In any case, the ensuing months brought considerable turmoil to the administration. In particular, they saw the resignations of a longtime UC vice president and the system's two most senior chancellors—Chang-Lin Tien, the much-beloved engineer who had run the Berkeley campus since 1990 and Charles Young, UCLA's leader for twenty-seven years. Neither hid his distaste for the regents' policy. And both had had their run-ins with Connerly: Tien in 1996 for instituting an outreach program for disadvantaged students that Connerly labeled a "sneaky" end run around SP-1, and Young a year earlier after he called Connerly a "mouthpiece" for Governor Wilson. "Sometimes you have to be very careful," Tien said in an interview last fall. "People are watching you very carefully."

THE POLARIZATION

at UC's highest echelons paralleled divisions among students and faculty below. In the early days after the regents' vote, protests were loud and frequent. Students disrupted several regents meetings, and penned numerous columns in the student-run *Daily Californian* attacking the regents' decision. More recently, a group of forty demonstrators occupied Berkeley's

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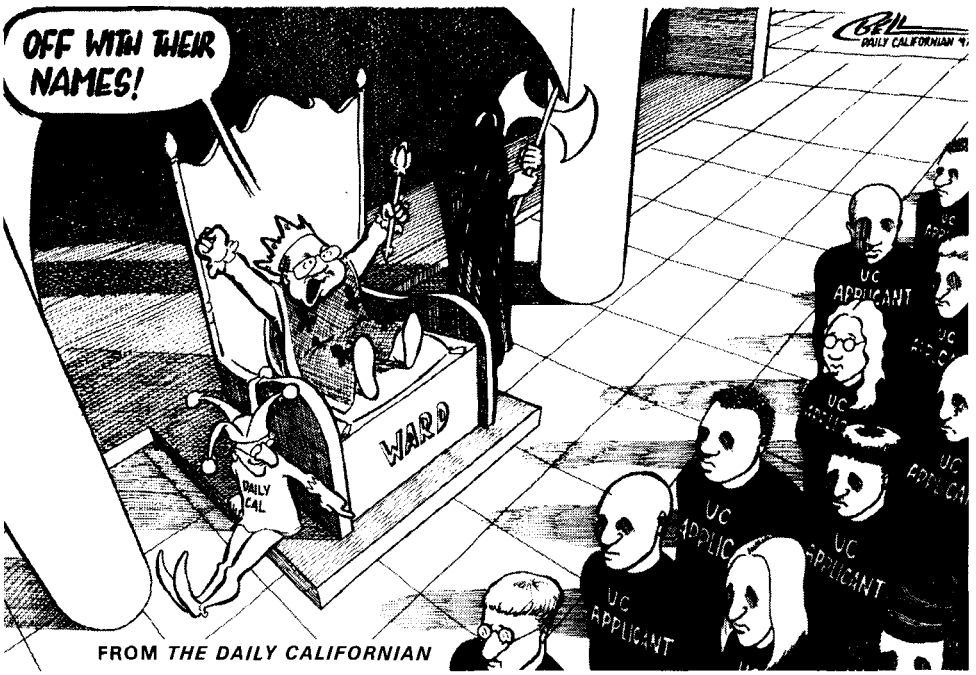

FROM *THE DAILY CALIFORNIAN*

Sproul Hall for several hours, demanding that the university refuse to comply with Proposition 209. But most students have not gotten involved in the protests. In a clear sign that scaling back affirmative action was not unpopular among all students, the *Daily Californian* editorialized in favor of both SP-1 and Proposition 209.

From the time of the regents' vote, many faculty were incensed by what they perceived as interference. If the regents were willing to play politics with admissions policy, they wondered, what was next?

Faculty senates on all nine campuses expressed their dissatisfaction not just with the outcome, but with the regents' apparent disrespect for the faculty's concerns on a core educational question and the insertion of Governor Wilson's presidential grandstanding into the academy. They voted overwhelmingly to demand the regents reverse their decision.

Leading a seemingly futile charge, several left-liberal faculty members at Berkeley banded together to try to save affirmative action. In a paper they were allowed to present, after much negotiation, at a regents' meeting, Jerome Karabel, fellow sociologists Troy Duster and Kristin Luker, anthropologist Margaret Conkey, and others took issue with the regents for violating the tradition of shared governance by overriding the expressed will of their senior executives and faculty senates.

"It constituted the worst breach of prevailing norms of governance at a major American university in over a quarter of a century," read the paper. Karabel, who wrote most of the document, had as much at stake as any professor: He was the chief architect of the Berkeley undergraduate admissions procedures that the regents had scrapped. But as a sociologist specializing in higher education, he also believed strongly that the arguments for the new policy were downright wrong. "This disingenuous ideology of color blindness is totally willing to acknowledge that social class is consequential in America at the same time that it insists against all evidence that race is inconsequential," he said in an interview. "This is blatantly false, and it is unhealthy for a major institution of society to deny the reality that both race and class matter in society."

Karabel said the regents' vote had caught him by surprise while he was deep into writing a book on Eastern European intellectuals. That book remains unfinished, as he shifted his attention back to the study of college admissions.

Around the Berkeley campus, like-minded faculty responded in other ways to the vote. "The regents' vote had a very demoralizing effect on the progressive faculty at UC-Berkeley," said Judith Butler. "For many of us, it's changed the nature of our research and the writing we're doing. A lot of my recent work has been trying to come to terms with this event, which for many of us seemed radically unthinkable—that there could be a repeal of affirmative action at the University of California." Speaking of Connerly's no-name proposal, Butler doesn't mince words: "It resonated disturbingly with the idea of ethnic cleansing and this effort to purify the student."

In the summer of 1996, *Representations,* a journal published on campus that typically focuses on the humanities and interpretive social sciences, produced an affirmative action issue. The editors, law professor Robert Post and political scientist Michael Rogin, made it clear that the effort was motivated by the regents' new policy. "It was a wake-up call, it was a shock, and we thought we needed to have a response," said Post. He said an expanded version of the issue will be published later this year by Zone Books.

The volume's contributors battled foes of affirmative action on a number of fronts. Duster issued a bold attack on the notion of fairness that had come to dominate the affirmative action debate. "Are two individuals and their test scores ever the whole story of fairness in any society?" he asked. "'Fairness to the individual' must always have a social and historical context—ignoring that context is a cheap political trick in the service of the ideology of those in power." A piece by Butler assailed the "morally sanctified individualism" under which "the institution seeks to reward those who expect no compensation from the institution for their suffering." But the vigor of the contributors' arguments was matched by a sense of resignation over losing a battle. In a thoughtful essay, historian David Hollinger noted that, in contrast to the singular message of color blindness propagated by affirmative action opponents, supporters of the policy lacked a unifying theory of what affirmative action is and why it is needed.

The absence of a coherent theoretical argument for affirmative action was also reflected in the debate over

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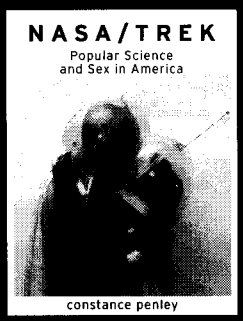

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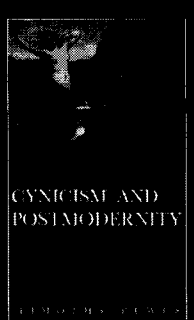

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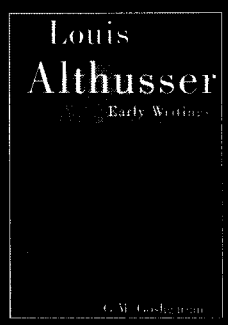

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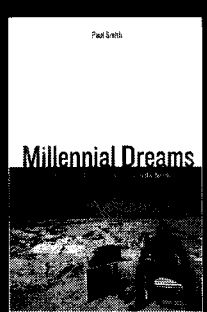

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LIKE MANY FACULTY MEMBERS WHO CAME TO FOUGHT AFFIRMATIVE ACTION WITH REVENGE, DISPATCH AND JOHN FAUST SAW ATTITUDES ORDINATED FACULTY SENATE CONSTITUENTS

Proposition 209, which too often consisted of the ad hominem claim that opponents of affirmative action must be racist. "It was rhetorical, it was unilluminating, and it was very disappointing," said Post, who adds that the issue of *Representations* he edited did not have the elevating impact on the Proposition 209 discussion he had hoped for.

Hollinger, author of *Post-Ethnic America: Beyond Multiculturalism* (Basic, 1995), lso faults the left for failing to approach the issue rigorously: "Affirmative action survived on the basis of a tacit agreement of most of the parties not to ask hard questions about it," he said. "When the opposition came, increasingly ferociously, you couldn't avoid asking those hard questions. And when you asked the hard questions, you discovered that you disagreed among yourselves."

Ronald Takaki, author of *A Different Mirror: A History of Multicultural America* (Little, Brown, 1993), as long been a proponent of affirmative action, but he agrees that the usual defenses are weak. "There isn't a theory to challenge the idea that discrimination is past," he said. Still, he notes that it is possible to win converts to his cause. Over the last several years, he has participated in four public debates with Harvard sociologist Nathan Glazer, whose 1980 study *Affirmative Discrimination* is a staple of anti-preference thinking. Takaki takes heart from Glazer's recent change of mind: Glazer now defends the continuation of affirmative action policies, though only for blacks.

WHILE AFFIRMATIVE action supporters like Takaki may have spoken the loudest in campus debates, the regents' vote revealed that a large number of faculty members had grown strongly impatient with affirmative action. "People who have grave doubts about affirmative action are speaking more openly," said Butler. "I didn't realize how many people were keeping their opposition to affirmative action quiet."

These silent supporters of the regents made their presence known at three campuses—UCSD, UCLA, and UCSB—where they organized secret ballots on the question of the regents' vote, arguing that many faculty members would hesitate to air their views publicly for fear of being branded racists. Though all three

UC-BERKELEY

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schools still voted for rescinding SP-1 and SP-2, the lopsided margins of the earlier faculty senate votes disappeared and a divide emerged: The votes were 52 to 47 percent at Santa Barbara, 57 to 43 percent at San Diego, and 59 to 41 percent at UCLA.

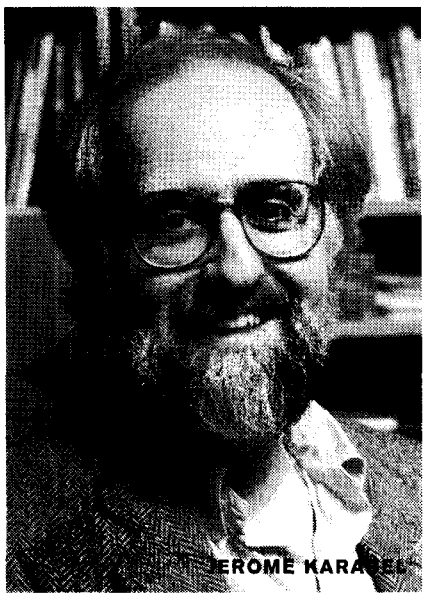
A San Diego social scientist who helped organize the mailed ballots called the senate votes "memorably totalitarian." Though he says he has faced no retaliation on his own campus for his opposition to the old regime, he is loath to air his views outside San Diego. "If I was considered for a job at some other place, it could easily happen that one or two other people would try to blackball me," he said. "People on the left on these issues feel it's flat-out immoral not to agree with them and alien to what a university should be."

Berkeley philosopher John Searle is among the UC system's more prominent critics of affirmative action. Though he doesn't place himself anywhere on the conventional political spectrum, his 1971 book *The Campus Wars* argues that faculty senates are typically co-opted by left-wingers. Like many faculty members who came to equate affirmative action with reverse discrimination, he says his feelings originated with his own experiences on faculty search committees.

"The definition of affirmative action was changed on us," he said. "The original definition was we were going to see that people who had not previously attempted to compete in the university be encouraged to compete, and I thought that was terrific. In real life, however, it came to mean that, if you have two people in for a job, one of whom is a member of a 'targeted minority,' and the white male is clearly superior but they both meet minimal qualifications like having a Ph.D., you have to take the minority person, and that's not acceptable. That's racism. The regents proceeded in a ham-fisted fashion, but they probably did the right thing."

Indeed, affirmative action had become so entrenched in university culture, says Martin Trow, an emeritus professor of public policy at Berkeley, that only the regents could have challenged it. Trow, whose books include the 1973 *Problems in the Transition from Elite to Mass Higher Education,* is one of the only faculty members who has given public speeches defending the regents. "I hated the idea of discriminating for or against people because of their skin color or ethnicity," he said in an interview. "The passionate hatred for racism comes down at least as hard on the side of Ward Connerly and myself as it does on the other side."

An expert in national systems of education and former chairman of the systemwide Academic Council, Trow agrees that university governance suffered a breakdown. But he puts the blame squarely on the shoulders of university administrators, who, he



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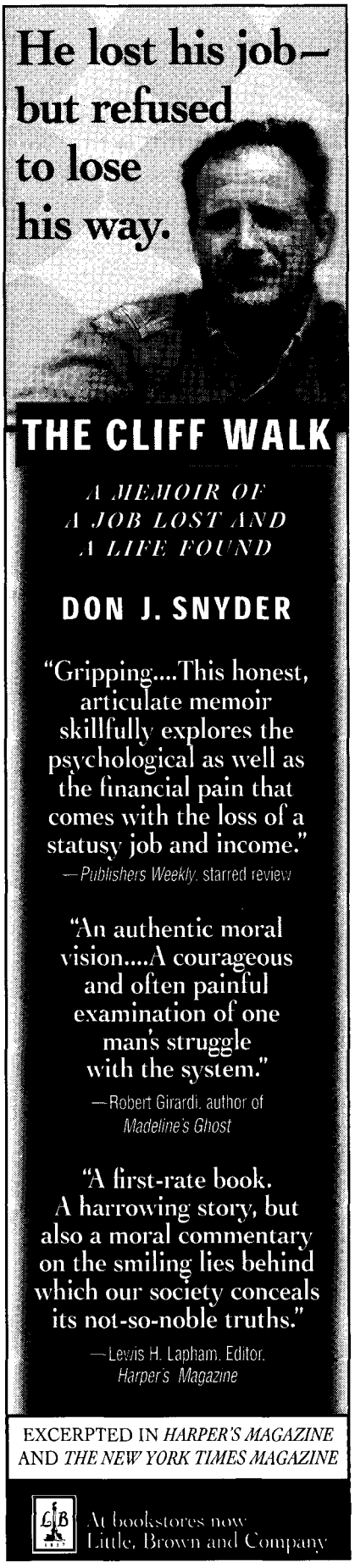
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says, violated their roles as civil servants by taking a public political stand against the regents.

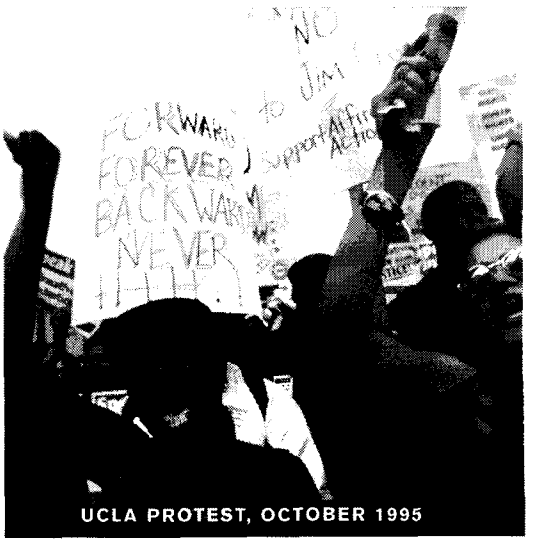
"It tells every faculty member that the top brass of this university feels passionately that to be a civilized human being you'd better favor affirmative action," he said. "So if you don't, keep it under your hat. That's the nature of intimidation. It's known as a chilling effect. What you see is not a nefarious plot by the regents to get this done but the nature of the war against the regents."

WHEN TROW AND others speak of intimidation, they refer not to overt threats but to their own perceived need for self-censorship—to protect a research institute or a campus grant, for example. Meanwhile, affirmative action supporters issue their own charges of intimidation: They contend that it's Connerly and the regents' antagonistic attitude toward administrators that has sent a chilling message about political speech.

That advocates on both sides should cast themselves in such beleaguered terms is a good indication of how far the affirmative action debate has divided the university. If anyone can restore some peace, it may have to be the new chancellors who will take office at Berkeley and UCLA this fall: Robert Berdahl (the president of the University of Texas, Austin) and Albert Carnesale (the provost of Harvard). Both men have a history of supporting affirmative action but have promised to carry out the new policies.

As university president at Austin, Berdahl was particularly attractive to the Berkeley committee because he has more experience in eliminating affirmative action than any college president in the country: UT-Austin was the site of the 1996 *Hopwood* decision, in which a federal circuit court effectively rejected the justifications for affirmative action embodied in the 1978 *Bakke* decision. When the decision first came out, Berdahl denounced it as leading to "the resegregation of higher education."

Berdahl didn't hide his feelings from the search committee, but he also told them he recognized that racial preferences were out of favor



UCLA PROTEST, OCTOBER 1995

and the university would have to find new ways to achieve diversity. "He's willing to work with us," noted regent Meredith Khachigian. And Berdahl, for one, may find the UC environment less intimidating than UT. That's because the *Hopwood* decision stated explicitly that individual administrators can be held personally liable and required to pay actual and punitive damages to any individuals who are unfairly denied entry.

Regents say that Berdahl's selection is proof that affirmative action has not become a litmus test. But privately they also concede that there was no ready pool of anti-preference college presidents on the job market. In fact, they say there was not a large pool of desirable candidates who were interested in the once-illustrious post at all. At Berkeley, two of the four finalists—former White House economic adviser and Berkeley economist Laura D'Andrea Tyson and University of Maryland at College Park president William E. Kirwan—said they did not want the job. Both the Berkeley and UCLA committees were also eager to recruit Condoleezza Rice, the African American Stanford provost who is well-known for her scholarship on the former Soviet Union and her work on George Bush's National Security Council, but she wasn't interested.

AS BERDAHL AND other administrators look to the future, they realize that the short-term

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prospects for maintaining current levels of diversity are limited—at least at Berkeley and UCLA. When SP-1 first passed, many in the university had hoped that new programs to recruit and prepare students for college would provide a channel into the university for minorities. A task force established by SP-1 has spent more than a year drafting a plan for strengthening and coordinating UC's work with K–12 schools to help level the playing field among students of all races. The task force is recommending a regional approach that teams faculty at each UC campus with primary and secondary schools with a high disadvantaged population and a history of low student performance. By 2002, the aim is to double the number of UC-eligible graduates from targeted high schools—or raise the eligibility rate by four percentage points, whichever is greater.

Given the mixed results of UC's many such programs in the past, it is a wildly ambitious goal. And that's especially so since, under Connerly's scrutiny and after the passage of Proposition 209, even those outreach programs won't be able to operate in a race-conscious fashion. "The problem is really the pipeline," said Berdahl during his first visit to the Berkeley campus. "How do we prepare more students early on to be competitive? I don't have any new genius to add. If there were easy and obvious answers to these problems, we all would have come to them sooner."

Still, one thing that all participants agree on is the desire to see strong academic performances by all ethnic groups in the state. If that goal is achieved, the divisions over affirmative action will cease to be relevant, but to get there the university—and society—will have to travel uncharted territory. In the heyday of affirmative action, it often seemed that California's universities were being asked to shoulder the state's own considerable social problems. Now it seems the larger society is being asked to meet the university's needs. It may be an equally difficult demand to satisfy.

Pamela Burdman is *The San Francisco Chronicle's* higher education reporter.

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"There is no problem so consubstantial with literature

saltar la vida por estas pedregales.
caso el pampero, se mueren las espadas

legando al sitio nombrado Barranca Ja
filo y punta menudiaron sobre él:
mala muerte me lo llevó al riojano
puñaladas la mentó a Juan Manuel.

, bien repuesto) penetró como un taita
fierno negro que Dios le hubo marcado
ordenes sban, ratas y desangradas,
mas en pena de fletes y cristianos.

BY **MATTHEW HOWARD**

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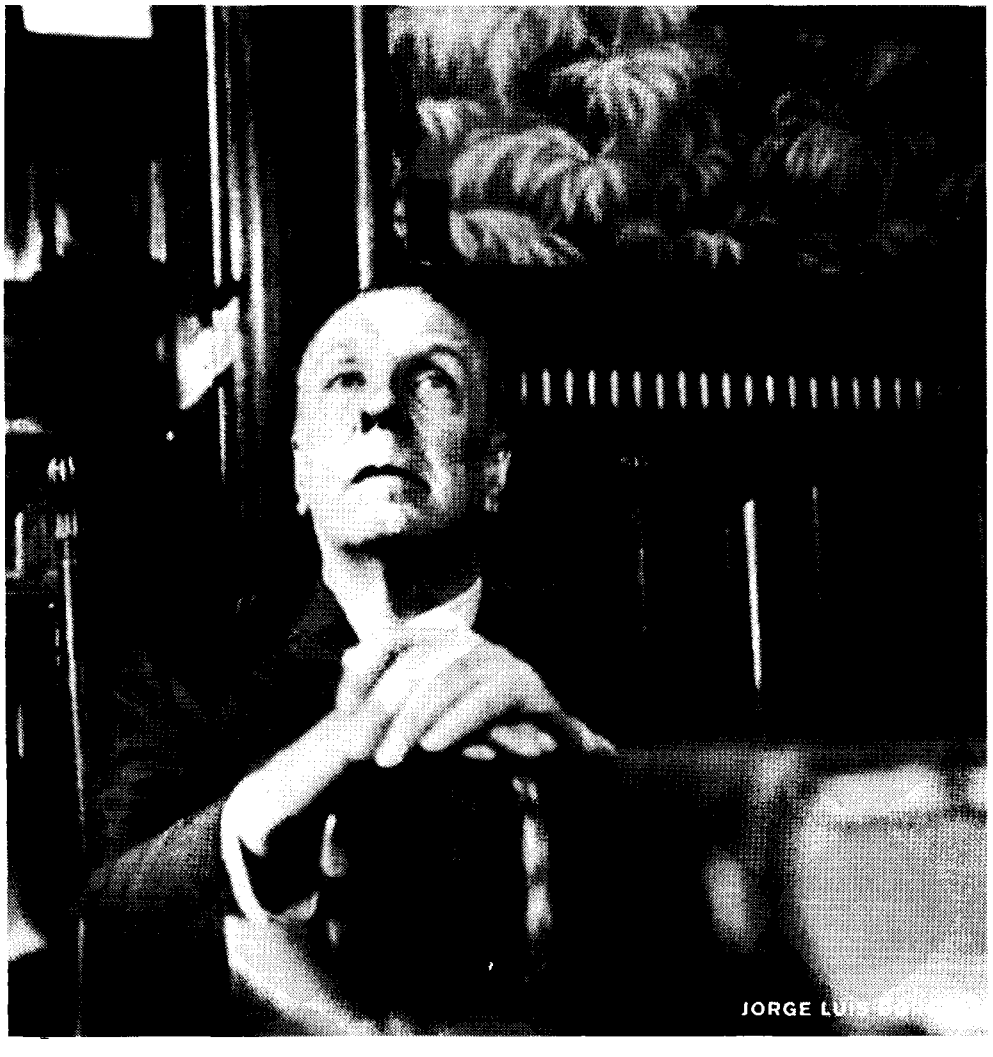
and its modest mystery as that proposed by translation."

Jorge Luis Borges

STRANGER THAN FICTION

THE UNLIKELY CASE OF JORGE LUIS BORGES AND THE TRANSLATOR WHO HELPED BRING HIS WORK TO AMERICA.



ARCHIVE PHOTOS

"IN THE LONG RUN, PERHAPS," wrote Jorge Luis Borges in 1971, "I shall stand or fall by my poems." The intervening years have failed to vindicate that claim: The great Argentine writer's *ficciones* are required reading in short story courses, his essays and metaphysical games cited in countless monographs on every imaginable subject, his name—and its adjectival form, Borgesian—invoked by scores of journalists to explain bizarre phenomena, from the afterlife of Eva Perón to the vastness of the Internet. Borges's poetry, on the other hand, has long since been overshadowed in the English-speaking world by his persona and fame; the poems are largely remembered and read today because they were written by Borges, rather than, as he imagined, his being remembered for having written them.

The occasion for Borges's ill-fated prediction was the publication in English of his *Selected Poems, 1923–1967,* a volume that had been compiled, edited, and partially translated by his collaborator at the time, a young American named Norman Thomas di Giovanni. Di Giovanni had first discovered Borges, appropriately enough, through his poetry. In the fall of 1967, di Giovanni, a graduate of Antioch College, was living an hour north of Boston and working as a translator; at

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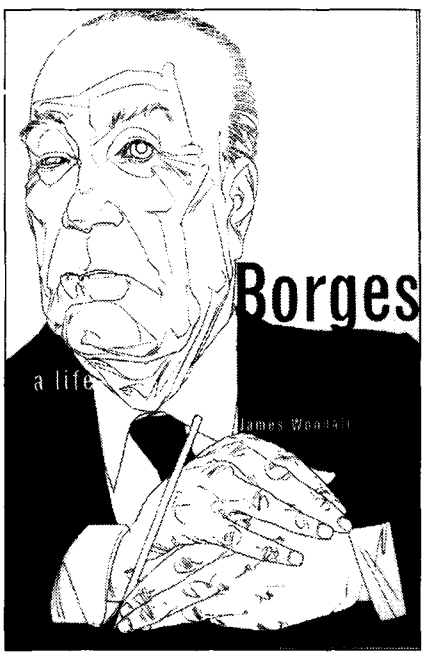
that time he had already published an anthology in English of the Spanish poet Jorge Guillén and was starting on another collection of Latin American poetry, but had only recently stumbled across Borges's work. After reading an intriguing *Paris Review* interview with Borges, di Giovanni went to Cambridge one day to search for an edition of his poetry in Spanish. He learned that the author was himself in residence at Harvard, where he had been invited to deliver the Charles Eliot Norton lectures. Di Giovanni took advantage of this chance proximity and wrote to Borges to propose doing a volume of his poetry in English.

Thus began an intimate collaboration between the brash, strong-willed Italian American (di Giovanni, a Boston native, had been named for Norman Thomas, the fiery leader of the Socialist Party) and the blind, soft-spoken, aristocratic Argentine—a collaboration that would span two languages and many continents over a period of four years. It was a critical time for Borges, during which his international fame and mystique steadily grew. Di Giovanni's role in this phenomenon was considerable: He became Borges's translator and his amanuensis, secured lucrative contracts for him with American magazines and publishers, and helped organize public appearances and trips abroad. As an Argentine newspaper noted at the time, di Giovanni "managed the great writer with the energy of a boxing promoter." Yet despite his enthusiasm and dedication, di Giovanni's efforts have left a troubling legacy for Borges's readers and critics. For di Giovanni put his access to Borges to questionable literary uses—in particular, a determined tidying up and simplification of Borges's highly allusive work. Most mysteriously, Borges eagerly colluded with di Giovanni in this enterprise; that is, until he abruptly broke off their working relationship in 1972.

IN A NEW biography, *Borges: A Life* (Basic), James Woodall comments on the "extraordinary" friendship between the two men: "Di Giovanni, almost half Borges's age [he was thirty-four when they met], was pugnacious, wily, extroverted: in personality the polar opposite in every way to Borges." Despite the temperamental differences, the two got along, and Borges soon agreed to collaborate on several translations while he was in Cambridge. Di Giovanni quickly arranged for publication of those, and with a grant from a private foundation to cover expenses, cash advances from the publisher E.P.



Dutton, and a contract with *The New Yorker* for the translated poems and stories, he moved to Buenos Aires in 1968. While he had originally planned to stay only a short time, di Giovanni ended up living in Argentina for almost four years, working side by side with Borges nearly every day in his office in the National Library and handling all details of his work's publication in English. In the time they spent together, di Giovanni and Borges produced half a dozen volumes in English, including *The Book of Imaginary Beings* (1969), *The Aleph and Other Stories* (1970), and *Doctor Brodie's Report* (1972).

The influence of these translations on Borges's international reputation, and the public exposure they gave his work in the United States, was enormous: Although Grove Press, New Directions, and the University of Texas Press had published collections of Borges's writing—including such masterpieces as "Funes, the Memorious," "The Garden of Forking Paths," and "Pierre Menard, Author of the *Quixote*"—for the first time a major press was committed to publishing almost all Borges's work, translated with the benefit of the author's own insight and involvement. As di Giovanni explained in 1971, "Through residence in Argentina, daily contact with Borges, and complete dedication to his work, I am able to bring to our translations a wealth of background knowledge and preparation otherwise not easy to come by.... I cannot stress this personal association enough, for no matter what we do together—whether we are walking, talking, traveling, dining with friends, or exchanging gossip and worries—all of it is valuable and puts me in touch with Borges's world, his thoughts, his voice." These advantages lent di Giovanni's translations a luster of authority that attracted libraries, scholars, and the burgeoning number of readers turned on to Borges through the publication of his work in American magazines.

For di Giovanni it was a windfall: the opportunity to work with a writer gaining recognition as one of the century's most important, to publish his own accounts of their work together in the prefaces to the volumes and in well-respected literary journals, and to accompany Borges to his numerous public appearances before adulatory audiences in the United States and elsewhere. Then there was the generous financial arrangement, which provided for a fifty-fifty split between di Giovanni and Borges of all royalties from the collaboration.

In many ways, like Umberto Eco and William Weaver today, Borges and di Giovanni appeared to represent an ideal literary partnership. And yet it was a partnership that took many strange turns, as the translator relentlessly pushed the author to accept his own stylistic precepts—and even to rewrite Borges's original Spanish prose to accord with di Giovanni's tastes.

DI GIOVANNI AND Borges's method of translating followed a consistent pattern. First, working alone, di Giovanni would fashion a handwritten English draft of the piece to be translated. He would then bring this draft to Borges and read aloud from it, comparing each sentence to the Spanish original while the two of them revised. A third stage began with di Giovanni taking the revised draft home, typing it

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out, and, as he describes it, "shaping and polishing the sentences and paragraphs by supplying exact words, referring to the Spanish text for checking rhythms and emphases only." The final stage consisted of di Giovanni reading the new draft to Borges without any reference to the original. At this point, di Giovanni says, Borges would occasionally suggest only "small adjustments."

A preserved recording at the University of Texas's Ransom Humanities Research Center suggests the sessions at the National Library weren't quite so placid. On tape, di Giovanni's voice is strident and insistent; Borges mumbles, stammers, equivocates. Time and time again, di Giovanni reads a phrase in Spanish, Borges proposes an English translation, and after a pause, di Giovanni suggests one or two other alternatives of his own. Borges inevitably ends up going along with di Giovanni's word or phrase. To take one instance, di Giovanni wishes to translate "*hombre vil*" as "scoundrel," Borges wants "vile man"; the published text uses the former.

Indeed, di Giovanni's translations tended to proceed from one underlying principle: to make Borges's writing clearer and less ambiguous for North American readers. He therefore saw one of his main tasks as explaining obscure regional references and providing historical details that Borges had omitted in writing for Argentine readers. This approach was not without its benefits: In translating Borges's "The Life of Tadeo Isidoro Cruz (1829–1874)," a story that recasts an episode from José Hernández's nineteenth-century Argentine epic poem *Martín Fierro* (a work all Argentine readers would have read in school), di Giovanni sensitively added passages to make clear to North American readers the military allegiances of the characters.

Di Giovanni's solicitude for the reader did not stop, however, at merely filling in such details. It was equally important to him to find and correct "errors" in Borges's texts. "In the Spanish language editions of Borges's work nothing can be taken for granted," he said during a seminar he and Borges held at Columbia University in 1971. The transcript of that seminar, later published in the book *Borges on Writing* (Dutton, 1973), vividly demonstrates di Giovanni's obsessive desire to "get things right." In the following passage, he is playing a tape of himself and Borges at work on "Tadeo Isidoro Cruz":

> DI GIOVANNI *(on tape)*: I checked the epigraph from Yeats: "I'm looking for the face I had/Before the world was made." You cite the whole book, *The Winding Stair*, and I'd rather cite the single poem to make it easier for anyone who wants to look it up. Actually, it's a poem in many parts, called "A Woman Young and Old."
>
> BORGES: But I think that those two lines should be left—because they don't give the story away.
>
> DI GIOVANNI: No, I'm going to use them. The only thing I want to...
>
> BORGES: And besides, as the verses are fine—you know, the Platonic idea and so on.
>
> DI GIOVANNI: The only thing I want to do is, instead of giving the title of the book it comes from, I want to give the title of the actual poem.
>
> BORGES: Maybe I gave the title of the book because it was a fine title.
>
> DI GIOVANNI: Well, "A Woman Young and Old" isn't bad, either.
>
> BORGES: Besides, as it made me think of the library, with the winding staircases at hand...
>
> DI GIOVANNI (to students): This is a lapse on Borges's part. The story was written eleven years before he came to the National Library.

In this exchange, Borges appears to know he is fighting a losing battle; he fears that di Giovanni will cut the epigraph entirely. As for di Giovanni, he clearly misunderstands the purpose of quotation in Borges's work. He wants to change the epigraph to "make it easier for anyone who wants to look it up." But as Borges's comments indicate, the epigraph functions not to refer the reader to a poem by Yeats but as a philo-

Saturday, June 17, 1972

SATURDAY SIDELIGHT

Borges's manager sets sail

Jorge Luis Borges's "Boswell," a young American with the noble socialist name of Norman Thomas di Giovanni, sailed (with wife Heather and Argentine-born son Thomas Alastair) for Britain earlier this week.

The departure, which leaves Argentine literary circles wondering at the strange and sudden silence, is merely a hiatus in a unique relationship. Di Giovanni met Borges in the Autumn of 1967 at Harvard when the author, in Boswell-di Giovanni's words, "was suffering from an unhappy private life and from the peculiar isolation it had forced him into."

The relationship flowered into a close collaboration which has produced five books so far. Di Giovanni has been more than a translator of Borges's work. He has managed the great writer with the energy of a boxing promoter.

Before di Giovanni, Borges was a distinguished writer but an unprofitable enterprise. Di Giovanni changed all that.

Di Giovanni is going to spend the next year working on a novel that he had to put aside when he joined Borges (he settled in Buenos Aires in November 1968).

Another book is due to be published in the U.S. later this year and di Giovanni will also be working on the English edition of the poetry book. Another two new books are planned and Borges and di Giovanni should be together again in November next year.

Di Giovanni will be missed in Buenos Aires. Some of the literati objected to his drive — thought he was making Borges work too hard. But he will be most missed by about a million friends, many of whom allowed themselves to be managed by him. He found houses for his friends, solved their problems, and looked after their money. So it's not just a question of what Borges will do now that his Boswell has gone. What will Norman's friends do now that they have no one to manage their lives for them? (RJC)

★ Norman Thomas di Giovanni, Borges' "Boswell" and super-manager returns to his unfinished novel. Pictured with wife Heather and son Thomas Alastair (named after Neruda's translator, poet Alastair Reid.)

B for mutton in Chubut

by Nora Mackinnon

A for 'orses, B for mutton, C'forth Highlanders, I had this cockney alphabet by heart long before I understood it. In the case of the letter B, ... often not even wether but old ewe; the ... strong tasting meat ...

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sophical allusion, a suggestion of other themes—"the Platonic idea," "the winding staircases." Further, the exchange reveals just how ignorant di Giovanni was of much of Borges's early prose even after translating with him for three years. Even a cursory investigation would have revealed to him an obvious source and justification for citing "The Winding Stair": Borges begins his famous story "The Library of Babel" with a description of "the universe (which others call the Library)," one of whose central features is a "spiral stairway, which sinks abysmally and soars upwards to remote distances." Despite these reasons for retaining the original citation, in the "collaborative" translation the epigraph reads "A Woman Young and Old."

Di Giovanni thought they could "improve" Borges's work not only by correcting such "errors," but because, he said, "the nature of English is such that we can often be more physical or concrete or specific in the translation." Translation was also able to eliminate what di Giovanni saw as difficulties in Borges's *Spanish*. One problem, he told an interviewer in 1972, was "the abruptness—so characteristic of Borgesian style—of the transitions between clauses or sentences or paragraphs. This abruptness is too sharp...and to soften it, I often find myself trying to intercalate 'buts' and 'therefores' and 'howevers.'" Di Giovanni concludes: "In English they're so common that, even though they're not in the Spanish original, I try to put them in just to satisfy my own concepts about style."

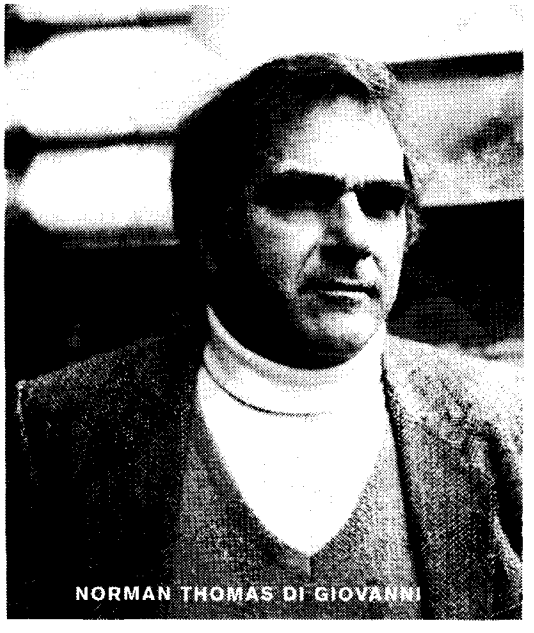
Here di Giovanni's sentiments interestingly echo one of Borges's favorite literary figures, Edward FitzGerald, the Victorian translator of the *Rubaiyat* of Omar Khayyam. "It is an amusement to me," FitzGerald wrote in 1851, "to take what liberties I like with these Persians, who, (as I think) are not Poets enough to frighten one from such excursions, and who really do want a little Art to shape them."

IN AN INFLUENTIAL 1964 essay in the *New York Review of Books*, Paul de Man suggested that the central "aesthetic, formal principle" in Borges's work is "infamy": the constant "ordering presence" of a "villain." As an example of this principle in practice, de Man singled out Borges's essay "The Translators of the *1001 Nights*," in which Borges examines how, according to de Man, "translator after translator mercilessly cut, expanded, distorted, and falsified the original in order to make it conform to his own and his audience's artistic and moral standards." Borges condemns one translator's "lucid, readable, mediocre" version of the tales (while praising other less "faithful" ones), de Man argued, because "it lacks the wealth of literary associations that allows the other, villainous translators to give their language depth, suggestiveness, ambiguity—in a word, style. The artist has to wear the mask of the villain in order to create a style."

In de Man's terms, di Giovanni's translations would qualify him as a "villain," the equal of any of those Borges describes in "The Translators of the *1001 Nights*." Yet ironically, di Giovanni's transformations of Borges's texts were intended to erase precisely those same qualities—"depth, suggestiveness, ambiguity"—that graced the villainous efforts of the others; di Giovanni's versions were intended to smooth away all these complications, this "style," substituting in their place a kind of transparent, idiomatic expression that he thought would be more accessible to North American readers.

And so, in the opening line of Borges's 1940 story "The Circular Ruins," the phrase "*noche unánime*" becomes in di Giovanni's English not "unanimous night," but "encompassing night," a translation that gains its logic and intuitive force from the loss of precisely the kind of poetic, purposely estranging quality that was surely the original's intention. Or take another example, from the vertiginous parable "Borges and I," in which the author examines his relationship to "the other one, the one called Borges," who shares his preferences for "hourglasses, maps, eighteenth-century typography, the taste of coffee and the prose of Stevenson" but "in a vain way that converts them into the attributes of an actor." In di Giovanni's version, the Latin in these words ("*de un modo vanidoso que las convierte en atributos de un actor*") has disappeared, and we get instead "in a showy way that turns them into stagy mannerisms." Or yet again from "Borges and I": "*Spinoza entendió que todas las cosas quieren perseverar en su ser.*" In James Irby's translation, "Spinoza knew that all things long to persist in their being"; in di Giovanni's they "try to keep on being themselves."

In modernizing and Americanizing Borges's prose, di Giovanni imagined himself translating for a reader who had at least one central, unmistakable characteristic: He was not a professor. While many of Borges's early readers and translators were academics, di Giovanni was not, and he considered his ignorance of academic literary criticism a distinct advantage. "I'm lucky," he told the Columbia translation seminar, "because I'd never read Borges before I started translating him. And I don't read any studies of his work. If you once read what the professors say about his work, you won't translate another line. They make such a fuss about hidden meanings." In di Giovanni's view, academic translators—trained to celebrate complexity for its own sake—were wont to obscure, not illuminate, Borges's writing. "I think too much gibberish is praised as 'imaginative' and 'poetic,'" he said. "Perhaps this is the fault of the professors and pseudoscholars who look at writing through microscopes, placing too much emphasis on single words and abstractions and refusing to believe that writers write specifically about specific things."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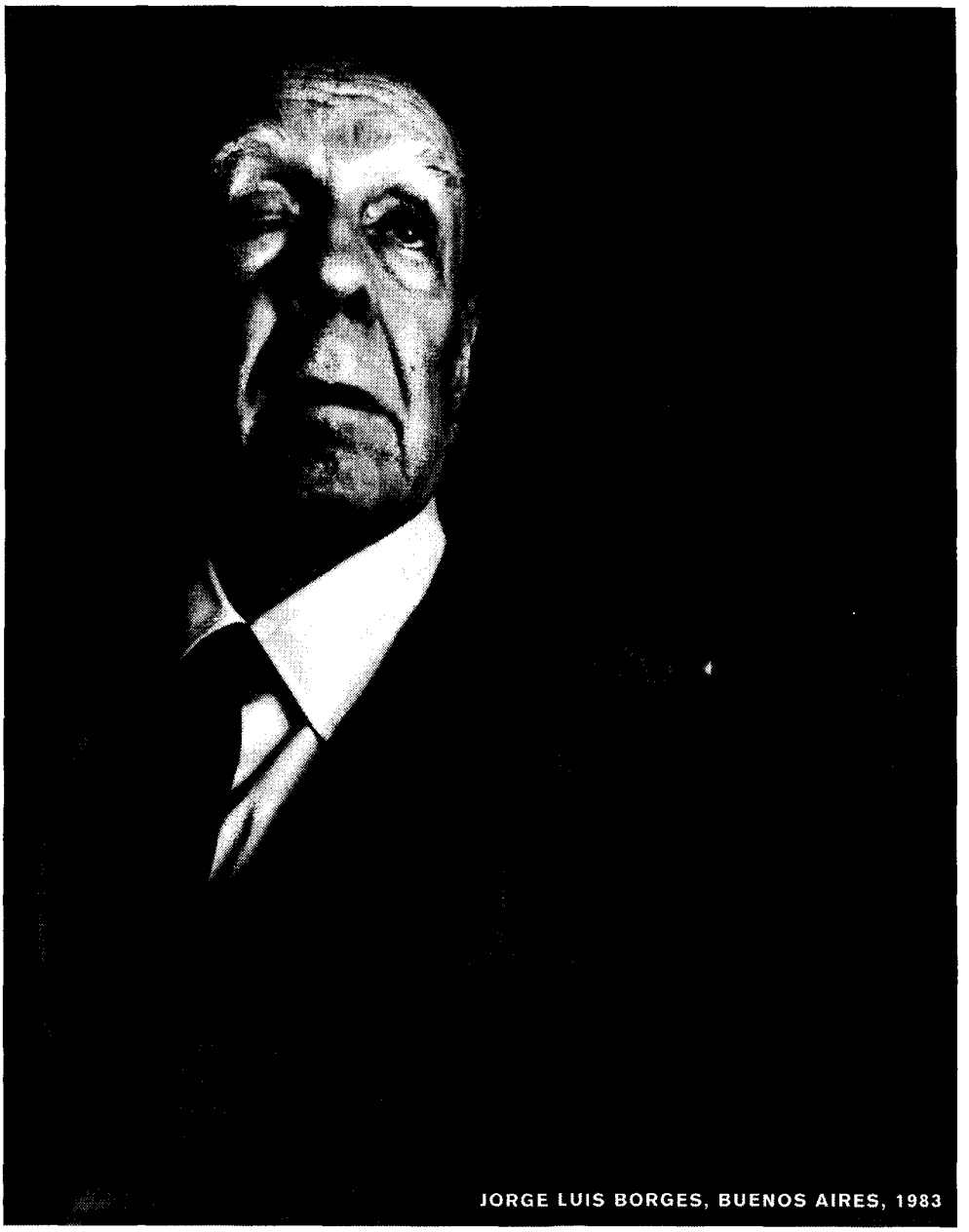

JORGE LUIS BORGES, BUENOS AIRES, 1983

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DI GIOVANNI RELENTLESSLY PUSHED BORGES TO ACCEPT DI GIOVANNI'S OWN STYLISTIC PRECEPTS.

Di Giovanni's obsession with the concrete worked itself out in strange ways in the translation of Borges's poetry. Commenting on the two previous English translations of Borges's "Conjectural Poem," di Giovanni expressed dismay: "Each of these earlier translations had somehow dropped the same line, and one contained a disastrous error of meaning. But still worse was their diction: both gave 'The lateral night' for the beginning of Borges's line '*La noche lateral de los pantanos.*'" He then asked, "What in the world is a 'lateral night'?"

Di Giovanni goes on to say that, when he put this last question to Borges, "he astonished me. He said he no longer knew exactly what he meant. No pompous explanation, no defense, just that plain admission." Here we have the quintessential di Giovanni: In his view, to use a word in any but the most straightforward way requires from the poet a defense; any explanation of an unorthodox usage—even one as characteristic of Borges's style as this (the use of such unexpected adjectives remains one of Borges's most imitated devices)—would have been "pompous."

In the end, di Giovanni translated the phrase as "The night and to my right and left the marshes."

NOT SURPRISINGLY,

American professors hardly shared di Giovanni's views about Borges's diction. During a panel discussion on translation held in 1976, at a conference devoted to Borges's work at the University of Maine, Orono, Clark University's William Ferguson commented on the same word, *laterales,* in a different piece by Borges. "The word had a kind of etymological depth which we could easily feel," Ferguson said. "*Casas laterales* must be rows of houses which stretch off to both sides, or perhaps houses which are in themselves long and low. The question was whether a translator should attempt to resolve the difficulty of sense; my position was that he should not, since *casas laterales* is no less Latinizing and mysterious in Spanish than 'lateral houses' is in English. The problem with a translation such as 'houses that stretch off on both sides' is that it sidesteps the purposeful difficulty that existed in the original."

Taken together, the academics' comments at the 1976 Orono conference (preserved in a transcript) give the distinct impression of a professorial backlash. Ferguson wickedly recalled the following exchange:

> [Di Giovanni] showed up one night in 1968, very upset, and demanded to know what iambic pentameter was; I explained that it was supposed to have five beats; he demurred; so we talked about it at length and when he left he was more or less satisfied. Two or three nights later he was back, more upset than before: "Bill, when I translate Borges' lines they don't come out to five beats. What shall I do?" We discussed it all again; and at length he decided, all on his own, that the way to make the verses come out right in English was to convince the author to rewrite them slightly in Spanish.

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Nearly all of the panelists had come into contact with di Giovanni as editor—many were assigned poems to translate for the *Selected Poems*—and nearly all of them mention the experience. With a sarcasm that comes through even in the transcript, Ferguson says that working on the *Selected Poems* was "a remarkable experience.... Di Giovanni had the engaging idea that a poem could be summed up in a prose paragraph. With di Giovanni it was a question of bargaining; he'd give you one participle if you took out one noun, that kind of thing. (Everyone knows the best poems are written by committees.) This procedure also occasioned a purification of the Spanish texts—'purification' was di Giovanni's word, and we were never entirely sure what it meant." Robert Lima of Penn State asserts that di Giovanni's practice of providing translators with prose versions was an "obnoxious process" that led to a "blatant savaging of Borges's originals."

Speaking in 1972, di Giovanni had no such reservations about his method. To di Giovanni it seemed that "even the poets who know Spanish are sometimes grateful for these transliterations. With them, they don't have to waste time interpreting the poem. The plain meaning is given them, and they can sail right into the poetry."

While many of the translators and scholars who came into contact with di Giovanni deplored his editing methods and displayed obvious discomfort with his self-assigned role as stubborn impediment, as barrier between them and Borges's text, their responses generally registered a larger sense of ambivalence about him. In the Orono transcript, Indiana University's Willis Barnstone said that "whatever one's notions of translation, the relentless kind of bullying intensity of di Giovanni in trying to seek the best possible translation is extraordinary, new, and admirable." Even James Irby—whose early translations of Borges, in their reproduction of the originals' abrupt semantic shifts and sudden logical leaps, were clearly a model against which di Giovanni conceived his own versions—commented in the Orono transcript that he would "moderate that aspect of them" were he to do it again. "But perhaps," he added, "not as much as I think Borges would like."

Irby's comment gets at perhaps the most interesting aspect of Borges's work with di Giovanni, and the central mystery: Why did he let him do it? Was di Giovanni the only "villain" in this story, solely responsible for the traducement of a great writer? And if not, what did Borges stand to gain from such recasting of his work?

BORGES (LEFT) AND DI GIOVANNI (FAR RIGHT)

SOME OF THOSE who knew Borges well suggest that his willingness to collaborate with di Giovanni had more to do with the author's personal life than with questions of literature. When di Giovanni arrived in Buenos Aires, Borges's recent marriage to Elsa Astete de Millán was already in shambles. As di Giovanni himself once put it, Borges "was suffering from an unhappy private life and from the peculiar isolation it had forced him into." Borges felt trapped by his domestic life—so much so that, according to Alastair Reid, the *New Yorker* staff writer and translator of Borges, "Borges took up with di Giovanni primarily to escape Elsa. He needed a reason to leave the house every day."

But Borges's reliance on di Giovanni may have also stemmed from Borges's long-standing, devoted, but characteristically timid, relationship with the English language. Though born in Buenos Aires to Argentine parents, Borges learned to read English before Spanish; his paternal grandmother was English, and his childhood tutor was an English governess. The books in his father's library, which Borges often called the "chief event in my life," were also mainly in English. One of the earliest books Borges read, not surprisingly, was Richard Burton's translation of *A Thousand Nights and a Night.* (Borges claimed that he read it hiding up on the roof, because his parents considered the book obscene and forbade it.) Another book Borges read early on was *Don Quixote,* probably the first book he ever read by an author writing in Spanish. Borges read the *Quixote,* however, not in Spanish but in an English translation.

In the "Autobiographical Essay"—a work that, despite its title, was actually written with di Giovanni in English—he discusses the importance of this fact: "When later I read *Don Quixote* in the original, it sounded like a bad translation to me. I still remember those red volumes with the gold lettering of the Garnier edition. At some point, my father's library was broken up, and when I read the *Quixote* in another edition I had the feeling that it wasn't the real *Quixote.* Later, I had a friend get me the Garnier, with the same steel engravings, the same footnotes, and also the same errata. All those things form part of the book for me; this I consider the real *Quixote.*"

As a result of this bilingual education, Borges from an early age saw English as the language of culture; Spanish, the language in which he was to make his name as a writer, was for him a much less exalted form of expression. And yet Borges, by his own admission, could not write well in English. This tension, this "linguistic crisis," as one of his biographers puts it, can be felt throughout his work, which manifests a reverence not only for English literature and its great figures but for the grammar, syntax, and even the *sound* of the language itself. In the

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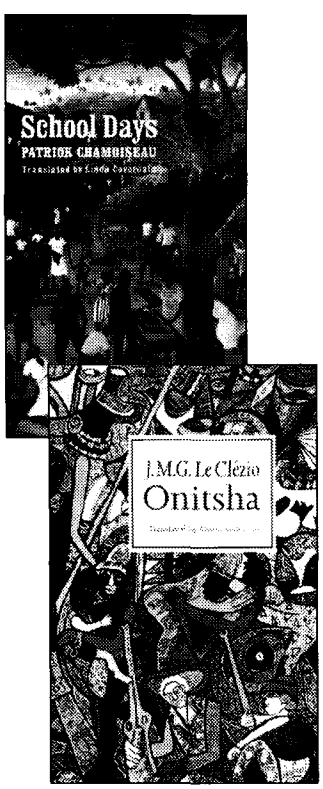
"Autobiographical Essay" Borges wrote: "I have been lucky to have my own translator at my side, and together we are bringing out some ten or twelve volumes of my work in English, a language I am unworthy to handle, a language I often wish had been my birthright."

PERHAPS THIS linguistic diffidence, when combined with di Giovanni's aggressive personality, helps explain the extent to which Borges sanctioned di Giovanni's cleanup project. But did Borges actually welcome di Giovanni's reshaping of his work? It's certainly possible. At the very least, Borges's distaste for much of his writing is well known. He had for a long time been trying to forget about, to erase, his early work. Before leaving Spain in 1921 to return to Buenos Aires, he destroyed two books of poems strongly influenced by *ultraísmo* (a poetic movement whose manifesto, authored by Borges, stressed metaphor and imagery over lyricism and meter); in the Sixties, he bought up copies of his work written before 1930 with the intention of burning them.

Clearly, the translator came along at a time when Borges's embarrassment about the ornate diction, elaborate symbolism, and local references so characteristic of his early writing was particularly acute. Di Giovanni's opinion, as a native English speaker with definite ideas about good prose style, obviously meant a great deal to Borges; and his views neatly coincided with Borges's own renouncement of baroque experimentation and his adoption of the more stripped-down narrative style characteristic of later volumes like *Doctor Brodie's Report*. In this light, the translations Borges made in collaboration with di Giovanni might be regarded as a calculated act of self-censorship—or of self-creation, the creation of a mirror, rival "Borges," Borges as an English writer.

Borges knew how he wanted to be remembered and read in the English-speaking world and knew that the volumes he and di Giovanni were producing would define him for generations of readers, just as surely as the Garnier editions of *Don Quixote* in his father's library had defined Cervantes, Samuel Butler's *Iliad* had defined Homer, and Edward FitzGerald's *Rubaiyat* had defined Omar Khayyam. Literary history abounds with such doubles, as it does with examples of writers who destroyed, or attempted to



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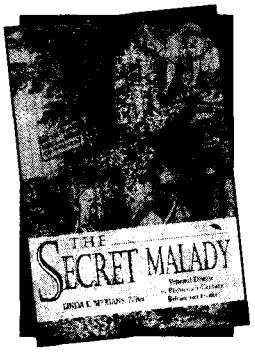
destroy, their work (think of Franz Kafka's final, fortunately unheeded instructions to Max Brod to burn his manuscripts) and of those who tidied up the untoward excesses of their youth (think of W.H. Auden's late emendations of the political commitment in his early verse). But the idea of revising one's literary legacy through translation may have been Borges's own palimpsestic innovation. What Borges did to his own writing, or what he allowed di Giovanni to do to his writing under the rubric of "collaboration," is deplorable, banal; the *idea* of it is astonishing, profound, literary.

BORGES and di Giovanni parted ways in 1972 and, except for a few brief encounters some years later, would never work closely together again. In his memoir *With Borges on an Ordinary Evening in Buenos Aires* (Illinois, 1993), the poet and translator Willis Barnstone recalls the story of how the collaboration came to an end. As Borges told it to him: "Di Giovanni called me one afternoon to let me know that he had used some of my funds to make a deposit on an apartment in which we could all live together. That evening—it was a Sunday—at [Adolfo] Bioy Casares's house, I said to myself enough is enough. We were eating dinner and between the soup and the main course I got up, went to the phone and called him. I said only three words to him. 'Norman, we're through.' Then I hung up. I did not see him again. It took only the time between the soup and the main course. Then I went back to the table and told Adolfo that I had broken with di Giovanni."

There is surely an element of retrospective bravado in this—the blind, shy, insecure Borges proudly recalling an instance of his overcoming his own vulnerability—as there is in the stories others tell of how Borges cruelly denigrated di Giovanni after severing their relationship. "Ah, yes, Don Giovanni, *el mafioso,*" a later collaborator of Borges's told me he would say when di Giovanni's name came up. Barnstone writes that Borges called di Giovanni "Nap," for Napoleon; as Borges told it, "He was short, and he took charge like a general and gave me orders, which I sometimes listened to. It was his manner and his method."

To Barnstone, Borges's break with di Giovanni represents just one instance in a larger pattern "repeated, with variations, with other devotees. There were always specific pretexts, but the rupture was due to Borges's need to free himself from so much service, dependence, management." It is true that Borges had a long string of such associations with



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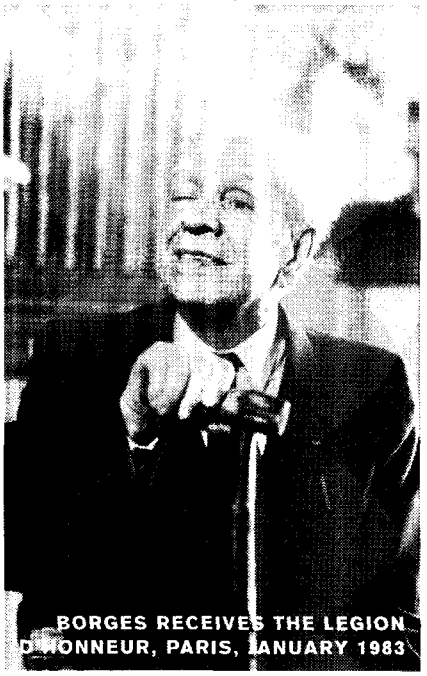
translators and assistants; it is equally true that in more than one instance these collaborators abused his trust, traveling a sordid path from initial admiration and devotion to eventual exploitation of a somewhat lonely, solipsistic man whose life was books.

Yet the relationship between di Giovanni and Borges, like the work they produced, defies any such easy explanation. Undoubtedly, di Giovanni benefited handsomely from their association, and clearly he bullied Borges to some degree, whether by design or by temperament—James Woodall compares their relationship to that of a "crafty gym master getting a slothful pupil to perform somersaults the pupil thought he had forgotten." But their close association also helped Borges through difficult times: In the summer of 1970, di Giovanni made the arrangements necessary to enable Borges to extricate himself from his marriage with Elsa and planned what must have been an immensely rewarding trip to Iceland for Borges, whose passion toward the end of his life was the study of Old Norse.

More Borgesian, perhaps, is the story of how the author himself was once responsible for inventing di Giovanni's death. One day in 1977, a friend of Barnstone's took him aside and let him know that di Giovanni had been killed in a tragic accident. When pressed for more information, the friend told him that he had the news on good authority: from Borges himself. Eventually it was learned that the rumor had started with an offhand remark Borges had made in conversation: "Borges had said flippantly that he hadn't heard a word from di Giovanni in years; for all he knew, he might have been killed in an automobile accident in Scotland."

He hadn't been. Though Borges died in 1986 (in Geneva, the city in which he had been educated as a youth), di Giovanni is alive and well, in England, where he moved shortly after leaving Buenos Aires in 1972. He has continued to build on the collaboration, publishing a new translation of Borges's *Evaristo Carriego* in 1984 (the book's epigraph from Thomas De Quincey, misquoted by Borges in the original, has been corrected), a volume titled *In Memory of Borges* in 1988, and, just two years ago, a collection of essays titled *The Borges*



BORGES RECEIVES THE LEGION D'HONNEUR, PARIS, JANUARY 1983

Tradition. In the early Eighties, he was even made a Commander of the Order of May, a rare appointment by which the Argentine government honors cultural distinction, for his work with Borges.

WHEN I reached him by telephone this past April, di Giovanni was gruffly accommodating, even gracious, his replies perfectly in keeping with the themes that so dominate his published material from twenty-five years before. "Are you an academic?" he asked me at the outset. I replied that I was not. "Better," he said. When I questioned him about his relation to Borges's scholarly critics, he told me frankly, "I have a lot of trouble with academics. I have no patience with them whatsoever." When I mentioned that a number of other translators had objected to his editing of the *Selected Poems*, di Giovanni grew irritated: "Who the hell thinks they're so great that they don't need another pair of eyes over their shoulder?"

Asked why he thought the collaboration ended so abruptly, di Giovanni put it down simply to Borges's lack of interest in translating his early work: "He just sort of ran out of patience with it." Speaking of his own translations, he said, just as he had years before, that they gave the work "a far greater clarity and simplicity.... I liken it to cleaning a painting: you could see the bright colors and the sharp outlines underneath where you couldn't before."

Finally, I asked him about a specific phrase in the famous short essay "Borges and I." While other translators had rendered the passage "*el laborioso rasgueo de una guitarra*" as "the laborious strumming of a guitar," di Giovanni had intriguingly rendered the phrase "laborious tuning of a guitar." In explanation, he gave me this response, which to my mind captures many of the complex dynamics of his collaboration with Borges:

> There's nothing less laborious than strumming a guitar, right? So I said to [Borges], "What the hell does this mean?" and he said, "What does strumming mean?" And I showed him, physically, you know, running your finger over the string. And he said to me, "That's not what I mean at all," and then he explained to me: "What I mean is, you know, you go to a party and you think, oh, boy, there's going to be music here, and then the guy's there and he's plucking one string and he's turning the key, you know, and *bink bink bink* and he turns the key and *bink bink bink*, and then he starts on the next one, and that's laborious, right?" And I said, "But, Borges, that's not strumming, that's tuning." He says, "That's right, that's what I meant, tuning." So the point was—why the hell did he use the wrong word? There is a word for tuning in Spanish. But he said, "Ah, but the word tuning in Spanish is so *ugly*, I couldn't use it." Well, this is strange stuff, isn't it?

STRANGE STUFF indeed. What is a translator to do when the author uses the "wrong" word—a word whose meaning refuses to be made plain or ordinary, one that insists on defining itself? Should such a word be fixed? What's one to do with an author whose poetic imagination is governed not only by literal meaning but by the aesthetics of ambiguity? Such problems are, of course, not endemic to Borges; they are the challenges of literary translation—a nearly inexhaustible process that, as Borges recognized, assures the continual transformation and survival of literature itself. As he put it in his 1932 essay, "The Versions of Homer": "To presuppose that every combination of elements is inferior to their original is to presuppose that draft 9 is obligatorily inferior to draft number H—since there can never be anything but drafts. The concept of the *definitive* text complies only with religion or weariness."

Matthew Howard is managing editor of *Boston Review*.

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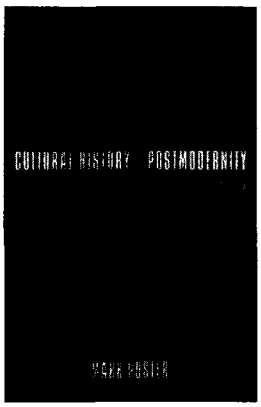

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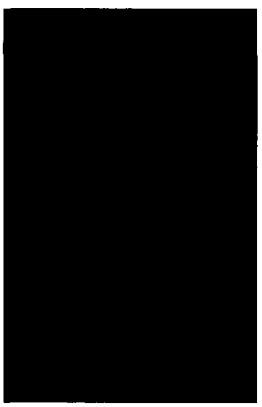

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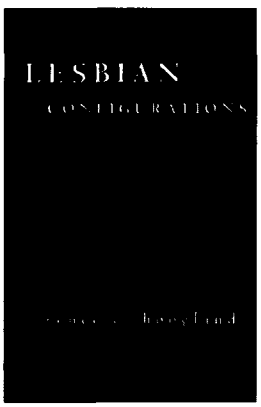

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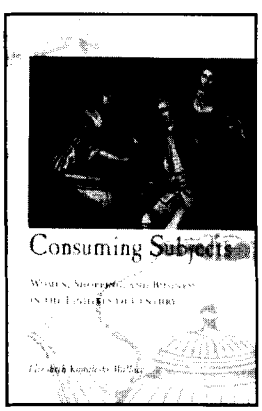

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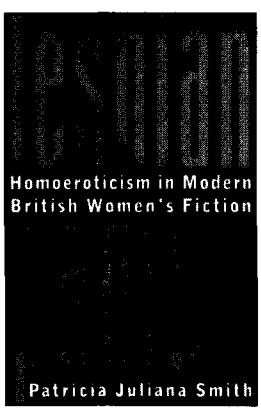

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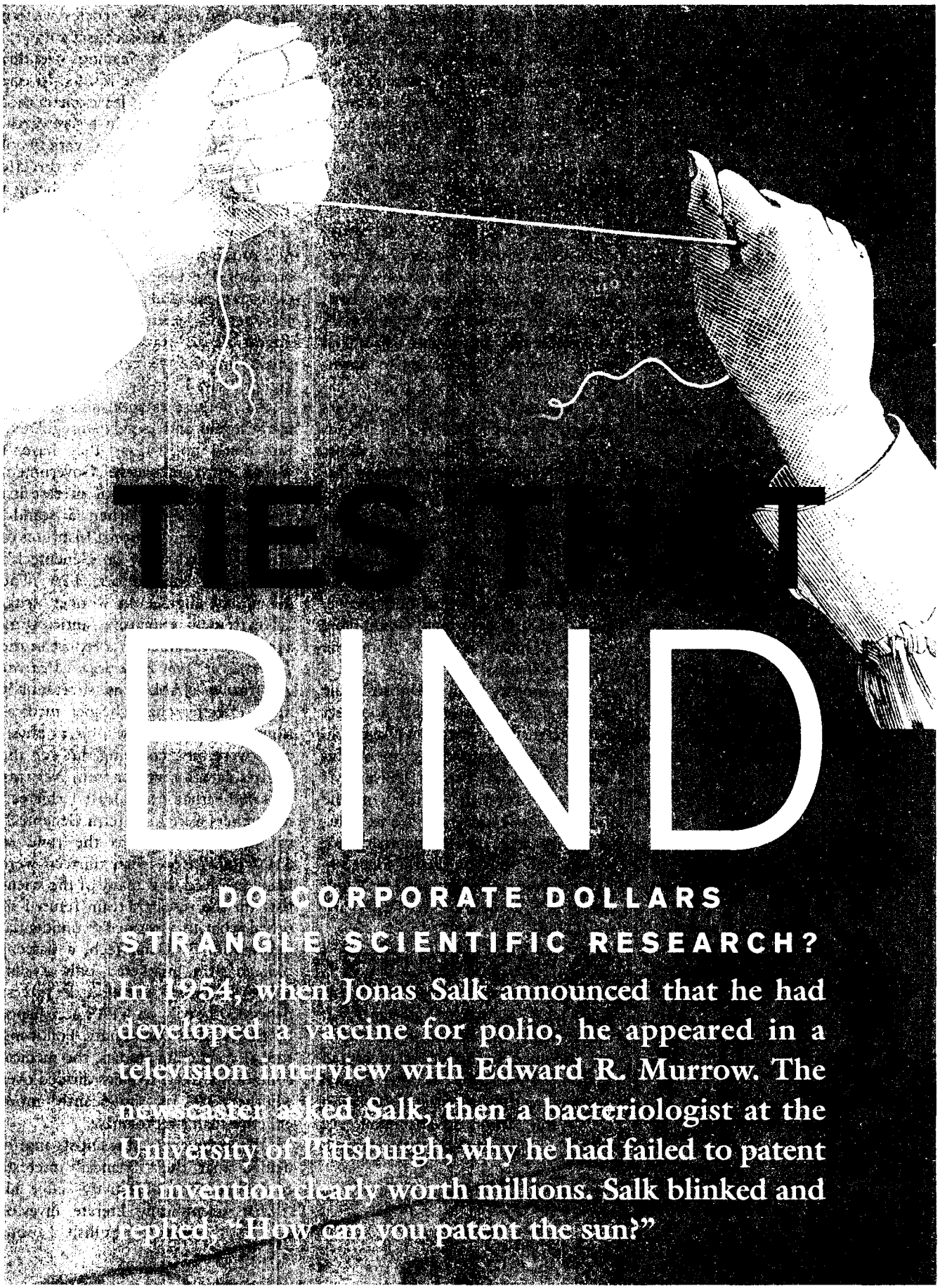

TEST BIND

DO CORPORATE DOLLARS STRANGLE SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH?

In 1954, when Jonas Salk announced that he had developed a vaccine for polio, he appeared in a television interview with Edward R. Murrow. The newscaster asked Salk, then a bacteriologist at the University of Pittsburgh, why he had failed to patent an invention clearly worth millions. Salk blinked and replied, "How can you patent the sun?"

BY **DANIEL ZALEWSKI**

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This question sounds quaint today, when everything from genes to vaccines is patented by universities and their researchers. In 1995 the University of California system alone pocketed $57 million from patents established since 1980, when the Bayh-Dole Act permitted universities and scientists to lay financial claim to faculty inventions created with federal research funds. The biologist Peter Medawar once quipped that the "dire equation" of scientific research was "Useless=Good." But the Bayh-Dole Act has changed the formula, engendering an explosion of collaboration between academia and the business world. While corporate funding accounts for only around 10 percent of today's research dollars, the vast majority of working scientists carry *some* kind of industry grant; and as government wells dry up, the percentage keeps growing. Add in entanglements like honoraria, consultancies, and those highly profitable patent licenses—one UC geneticist received $521,276 last year in royalties from his share of a university patent on genetically engineered strawberries—and the line between academia and industry becomes increasingly difficult to draw.

All this raises a question: Might scientists aligned with companies be lured off the path of dispassionate inquiry? Sheldon Krimsky, a professor of environmental policy at Tufts, recently warned in *The Boston Globe* that the scientific community was draining itself of "a reservoir of disinterested experts who can be called upon to advise government policy makers on the safety and efficacy of treatments, on the hazards of chemicals, [and] on the safety of technology."

Nowhere is this concern more visible than in the precincts of scientific publishing—a world almost obsessively keyed to screening out bias. Increasingly, editors have begun to ask uncomfortable questions: Does the profit motive lead scientists to downplay unfavorable results or overemphasize success? Do industry funders secretly massage manuscripts? And, after years of resistance, many editors are now requiring contributors to disclose any financial interest in research results. Krimsky gives the reason as follows: "If I were to tell you that a couple of academics had just published a positive study of a 'safe' cigarette," he asks, "wouldn't your first question be: Who funded that research? Could these scientists make millions from the product's success?"

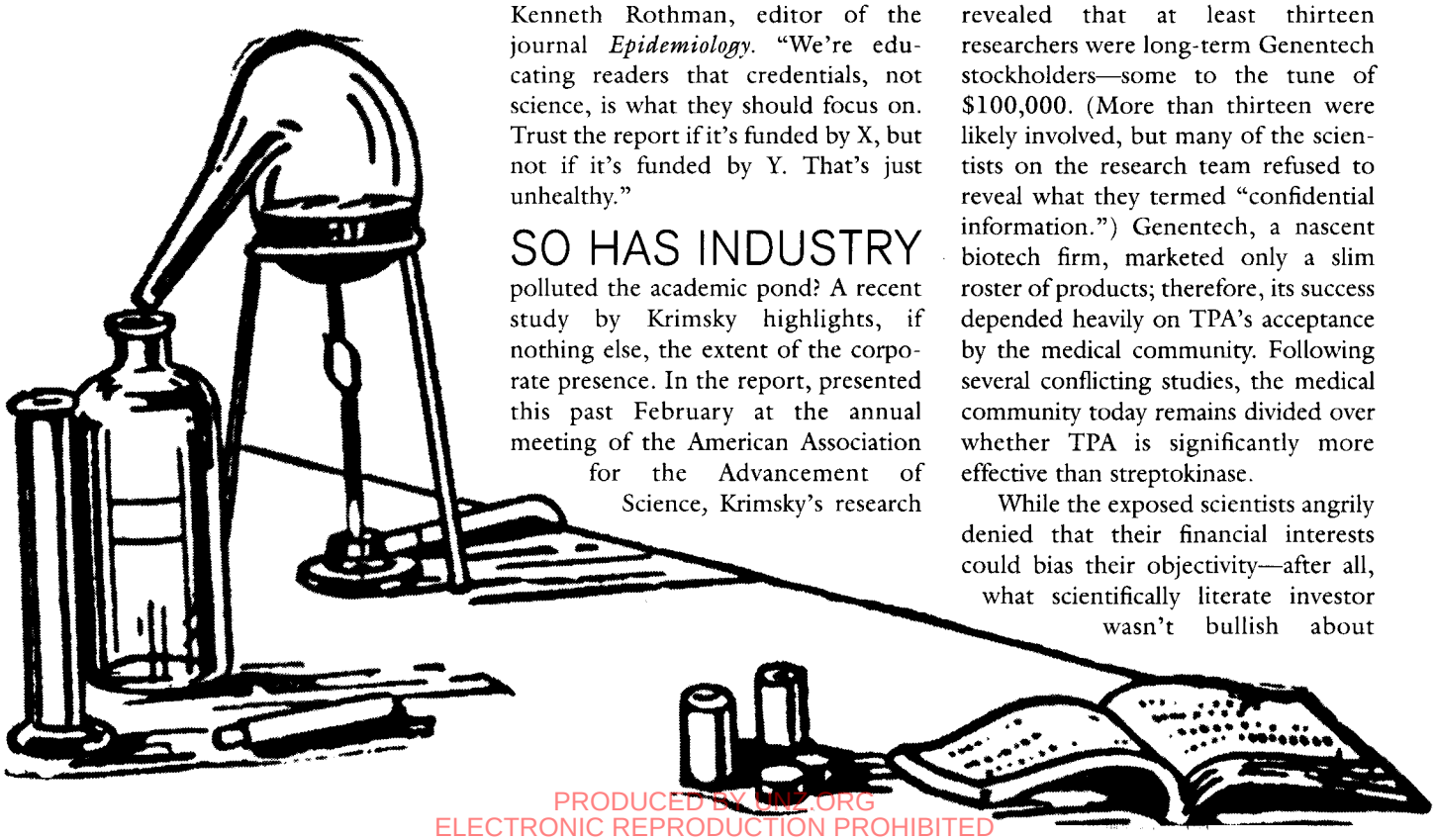
In response, many scientists argue that financial incentives pose no direct threat to the integrity of their research. "There's a real trumping up of this issue," complains Boston University's Kenneth Rothman, editor of the journal *Epidemiology*. "We're educating readers that credentials, not science, is what they should focus on. Trust the report if it's funded by X, but not if it's funded by Y. That's just unhealthy."

SO HAS INDUSTRY

polluted the academic pond? A recent study by Krimsky highlights, if nothing else, the extent of the corporate presence. In the report, presented this past February at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, Krimsky's research team scrutinizes 789 articles written by authors from Massachusetts universities published in leading scientific journals in 1992. The results: In one out of three cases, at least one author had a vested interest in his research. These interests took a variety of forms—owning a patent directly related to the published work; being a major stockholder or executive in a company with commercial interests tied to the research; or serving on the board of directors of such a company. Consultancies and honoraria weren't considered because they're all but impossible to track. "If you factor those in, the percentage is likely higher," says Krimsky.

All of these relationships are perfectly legal—and largely unregulated. But that's not to say they haven't stirred up controversy. Government concern about conflicts of interest first emerged in 1988, when a scandal broke out over a National Institutes of Health–funded study on Genentech's heart-attack medication, TPA. The genetically engineered wonder drug, an extremely expensive anticlotting agent, was heralded in a report in the *Journal of the American Medical Association* (JAMA) as substantially more effective than cheaper medications like streptokinase. But as physicians were busy combing through the study's data, a reporter from *Newsday* revealed that at least thirteen researchers were long-term Genentech stockholders—some to the tune of $100,000. (More than thirteen were likely involved, but many of the scientists on the research team refused to reveal what they termed "confidential information.") Genentech, a nascent biotech firm, marketed only a slim roster of products; therefore, its success depended heavily on TPA's acceptance by the medical community. Following several conflicting studies, the medical community today remains divided over whether TPA is significantly more effective than streptokinase.

While the exposed scientists angrily denied that their financial interests could bias their objectivity—after all, what scientifically literate investor wasn't bullish about



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biotech in the Eighties?—Congress held hearings on the controversy. Ultimately, though, most of the proposed remedies, such as banning federally funded scientists from owning stock in firms affected by their research, were shot down as too invasive. After protracted wrangling, the NIH finally adopted a loose set of rules in 1995: Researchers receiving federal moneys are now required to disclose—to their universities, not the public—any involvements exceeding $10,000 in companies that might benefit from their research. Journals have no legal obligation to disclose such information about their contributors.

Krimsky's study of journal articles attempted to reopen the very questions the NIH had hoped to close. In order to complete his work, Krimsky combed through annual reports filed by companies and consulted worldwide patent records. Sound sneaky? In fact, he had few options—for only one of the 268 relevant articles contained a disclosure statement. (To be fair, a few of the journals in Krimsky's study have adopted some kind of disclosure policy since 1992.) In his March *Boston Globe* piece, Krimsky urged journals without disclosure policies to jump on the ethical bandwagon: "The public has a right to know whether scientists who are employed at universities...have any financial interests in their published work."

Especially, critics say, when such conflicts are legion. The editor of a leading medical journal says, "My guess is that some pharmaceutical companies try to buy up every investigator in sight." Jerome Kassirer, editor of *The New England Journal of Medicine,* reports that he had to go to his "sixth choice" for a recent editorial before he could find someone fully free of financial ties. ("The biggest problem comes when you're trying to evaluate equipment or drugs," he says.) This past April in *JAMA,* West Coast editor Drummond Rennie detailed his difficulty in finding unbiased experts on thyroid disease, since virtually all of the leading experts have financial ties to Knoll Pharmaceuticals, the leading thyroid-drug manufacturer.

Over the past several years, the press has picked up on the conflict-of-interest problem—and had a field day exposing the financial ties of supposedly impartial scientists. In a high-profile case in 1994, Harvard rheumatologist Peter Schur, the editor of *Arthritis and Rheumatism,* rejected several submissions claiming a link between silicone breast implants and autoimmune diseases like rheumatoid arthritis. At the same time, Schur published a rival study (of which he was a co-author) denying any such connection. Litigants against breast-implant manufacturers revealed that during this same period, Schur had acted as a paid consultant to lawyers defending implant manufacturer Dow Corning—to the tune of $300 an hour. (At the time, Boston attorney Frederic Ellis complained, "The evidence suggests that the manufacturers have attempted to control science by hiring experts who are key players in the decision making about what gets published.")

Schur is not alone. Last spring, the environmental group Ozone Action released documents revealing that Arizona State climatologist Robert Balling, one of the most vocal naysayers of global warming, had received over $300,000 in research funding and honoraria from oil companies—not to mention the Kuwaiti government. And last summer Michael Macknin, a physician at the Cleveland Clinic, published a study indicating that zinc gluconate lozenges reduced the length of a cold by almost half. What the journal that published the study, *The Annals of Internal Medicine,* did not report was that Macknin purchased nine thousand shares of stock in a private offering by Quigley, the company manufacturing the lozenges—and that Macknin made a whopping $145,000 when Quigley stock jumped after his data were publicized.

WHILE SUCH revelations surely embarrassed researchers dragged through the media mud, it's not so clear that their science was skewed. Nobody, for example, has argued that Macknin's zinc-lozenge study was improperly conducted; his decision to cash in on promising results (after the trials were finished) smacks more of insider trading than scientific fraud. Balling's opinions on ozone, though by no means the dominant view, have been published in some peer-reviewed journals. And the publications committee of *Arthritis and Rheumatism* ultimately judged Schur's editorial actions "not prudent" but, after looking at the rejected manuscripts' data, deemed his decisions scientifically sound; he finished out his term as editor. However, Schur did agree to resign from a larger Harvard study on breast implants. Harvard's Charles Hennekens, the chief of that study, emphasized that the decision was "based more on the perception of how the results of the studies might be viewed, rather than any reality."

But if all the media bluster is by and large a perception problem, why cave in to facile cynicism? That's the argument advanced by a recent editorial in the venerable British journal *Nature.*

In the printed equivalent of an exaggerated yawn, *Nature*'s editorial staff published a response to Krimsky's study, saying the results were "no surprise" and noting that "virtually every good paper with a biotechnological relevance" most likely "has at least one author with a financial interest—but what of it?" Krimsky's study, noted the editorial, "makes no claim that the undeclared interests lead to any fraud, deception, or bias in presentation, and until there is evidence that there are serious risks of such malpractice, this journal will persist in its stubborn belief

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that research as we publish it is indeed research, not business." In other words: Science is science, dammit!

Krimsky is frustrated by *Nature's* argument. "Science doesn't take place in a vacuum," he insists. "Disclosure simply allows readers to ask if a researcher's financial interest may have led him to emphasize certain data or neglect other paths of inquiry." Failing to disclose, Krimsky reasons, allows industry to trade on the presumption of objectivity. (Perhaps that's why no companies require affiliated researchers to reveal their ties when publishing their findings.)

Many science editors have finally started coming around to Krimsky's point of view. *JAMA* now demands disclosure from prospective authors, as do *Science*, *The Lancet,* and *NEJM*. George Lundberg, editor-in-chief of *JAMA,* says, "I understand the frustration of honest scientists, but from an editorial standpoint, the price of not being duped is eternal skepticism." Lundberg finds *Nature's* blithe posture "extraordinarily naive, possibly representing editorial inertia." Jerome Kassirer of *NEJM* will just say, "I only hope they reconsider before they're embarrassed."

WHILE MANY journals now consider financial disclosure statements worthwhile, *NEJM* has taken the battle against bias one step further. In 1990 the journal's editors banned researchers from penning editorials on subjects that could in any way benefit companies they have alliances with—or hurt rivals. Kassirer says he's "proud" of *NEJM's* tough stand and "hopes the others will soon follow our lead." Depending on how you see these issues, *NEJM* is either at the vanguard of responsible science or, as one rival editor snipes, "whatever's beyond holier-than-thou."

In any event, a recent crisis at *NEJM* reveals the headaches that can result from all this hand-wringing. This past August, the journal published a lengthy report indicating that Redux, a potent new weight-loss drug that's already racked up more than $200 million in sales, might carry a potentially lethal side effect—pulmonary hypertension. The study's troubling conclusions were given a more heartening spin, however, in an editorial commissioned by Kassirer appearing in the same issue. The editorial, co-written by Harvard's JoAnn Manson and Penn's Gerald Faich, turned a critical eye on the research report, arguing that the drug's minimal mortality risk was not substantially greater than that of everyday medications like penicillin and the Pill. The duo also pointed to methodological flaws that they claimed "may have inflated the estimates of risk." Considering the unquestionable health risks associated with obesity, Manson and Faich concluded that "the possible risk of pulmonary hypertension associated with dexfenfluramine is small and appears to be outweighed by benefits." The day the journal was released, the stock price of Interneuron Pharmaceuticals, the Massachusetts-based maker of Redux, jumped 13 percent.

Within days of the issue's publication, word spread among scientists that Manson and Faich had consulting ties to companies producing and distributing Redux, in direct violation of *NEJM* policy. While Manson's relationship with Interneuron had ended one year before she ever put pen to paper, Faich admitted to an ongoing consultancy with American Home Products, the U.S. distributor for Redux. (Faich told the *Boston Globe* his failure to disclose was "an error.") The *NEJM* editors, claiming surprise, hastily published a statement saying that they had been misled—and that publishing the editorial was a mistake. "When considered as the opinion of unbiased experts," the editorial explained, "this is just the sort of practical summary we want from editorialists. But when considered as the conclusion of people who were paid consultants..., it raises troubling questions."

Kassirer asserts that the revelation of the duo's consulting history dramatically affected his perception of their argument. "The paper seemed to take a unique perspective—to take the data in the research article and compare it with the dangers of obesity in general," he says. "But when I found out that Faich, at least, was an *ongoing* consultant, well, it began to look different, more like risk analysis or something."

Many find Kassirer's logic baffling. In a blistering response published in *Epidemiology* this past May, Kenneth Rothman wrote: "The premise that we cannot take an editorial comment at face value, that we can only interpret it if we understand the state of mind of the author...actually compromises rather than enhances objectivity, by...encouraging readers to apply *ad hominem* evaluations." Others worry that *NEJM* will lose intellectual vigor if top experts like Manson and Faich are barred from scientific debates. Lundberg, for one,

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strongly believes that "disclosure is sufficient." He adds: "Rather than barring the door, we think our readers want to hear the opinions of the most knowledgeable workers in any field." As an example, Lundberg envisions an eye surgeon who develops a striking new technique for treating cataracts. Though the surgeon may strike it rich if his novel method is adopted, "you'd still want him to disseminate his ideas. That's in the best tradition of Hippocrates."

As for Manson, she's infuriated at any aspersions cast her way. "I didn't stand to make a cent from this editorial," she says. She says that her involvement with Interneuron consisted of "testifying before the FDA in support of pharmacological approaches to obesity. I was paid for my time, but I was mainly doing my civic duty. I believe these drugs can help people." And Manson insists she wasn't hiding anything. "I'm a proponent of disclosure, for God's sake!" she says. "I've always revealed links when they're relevant." To wit, in 1995 Manson published a research report in *NEJM* underscoring Redux's effectiveness in promoting weight loss; the published paper mentions her Interneuron consultancy. So why, then, did Kassirer invite Manson to write the Redux editorial? "By their logic, they shouldn't have asked for my opinions in the first place," Manson says. "But they did, because I know a lot about this subject."

ASIDE FROM the matter of whether financial ties bias researchers when they write up their results, scientists and editors have lately begun pointing to an even more troubling phenomenon: industry's manhandling of manuscripts during the period before publication. When scientists sign on for industry funding, their contracts typically require them to keep findings confidential until any possible patents are fully secured. Firms need to protect their investments, after all, so it's only natural that a company would want to peruse a researcher's data before, say, the readers of *Science* do.

But when company executives examine an early manuscript—as is customary today—it appears they often use the opportunity to suggest, or even demand, alternative ways to frame data. Unflattering data get minimized; promising results hyped. Frank Davidoff, editor of the *Annals of Internal Medicine,* says that he "sometimes gets submissions that have the marketing department written all over them, certain adjectives that just betray some kind of spin." David Sharp, deputy editor of *The Lancet,* agrees. "All the time, I look at manuscripts where I'm absolutely sure that the medical division of some company has looked over the draft," he says. "You wonder sometimes: Who actually owns the data?"

In fact, universities are careful not to turn over total control to industry funders. The top research institutions do allow companies to review results before they are published (and delay publication of an article for up to one month after a patent has been secured). But they simultaneously insist that all contracts guarantee scientists' ultimate right to publish their data as they see fit. However, as a much-discussed case at UC-San Francisco recently established, the system isn't entirely leakproof—not when millions are at stake.

Ten years ago, Betty Dong, a UCSF pharmacologist, was asked by London's Boots Pharmaceuticals to compare their profitable medication Synthroid with three cheaper, knockoff medications. At the time, Synthroid was the only drug of its type considered truly effective in combating hypothyroidism; other drug companies, eager to carve up Synthroid's monopoly, claimed that their variants worked equally well. Boots officials hoped that Dong would confirm Synthroid's unique properties. The company's selection of Dong wasn't accidental: She had just published an article emphasizing the different effects of various hypothyroid medications.

Dong agreed to perform a rigorous clinical trial—and ended up confirming Boots's worst fears. Synthroid, she found, wasn't any better than its rivals. Since Synthroid dominates a $600 million U.S. market, Dong's study had huge financial implications—both for Boots (big losses) and for patients (big savings). Company executives immediately disputed her results, and Dong spent a full four years wrangling with the company over her interpretation. Despite Boots's objections, Dong ultimately wrote up her findings, which were accepted for publication in *JAMA* in January 1995.

But the article failed to appear. It was quashed at the last minute by Boots. In signing her contract, Dong had accepted a clause stating, "Data obtained by the investigator while carrying out this study is also considered confidential and is not to be published or otherwise released without written consent." When confronted with a possible lawsuit, UCSF officials caved in, forcing an appalled Dong to yank her manuscript. Only after *The Wall Street Journal* exposed the suppression did Knoll Pharmaceuticals (which purchased Boots in 1995) relent and allow publication of the report this past April.

The resulting front-page scandal tarnished the reputation of Knoll—not to mention that of UCSF administrators, who were criticized for failing to support Dong's right to publish. For the record, the view of Knoll president Carter Eckert is: "I stopped a flawed study that would have put millions of patients at risk."

But why did Dong sign away her autonomy? Despite some news reports to the contrary, she says that at first she

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refused to sign the contract—alerting a UCSF patent officer about the troublesome clause. This university official, Dong says, "gave me pretty bad advice." In her words, the administrator "told me not to worry about it," suggesting that no pharmaceutical company would have the gall to violate so flagrantly the norms of academic research. "Well, he was wrong in this case," Dong laughs ruefully.

WITH DONG'S study, public health was affected in a largely financial sense: Nobody claims that

CURT FURBERG

Synthroid doesn't work, just that cheaper variants work equally well. But another recent uproar underscores the potential health dangers of granting industry control over publication of scientific data. This past January, Canadian blood specialist Nancy Olivieri risked a lawsuit when she broke her confidentiality agreement with Toronto-based Apotex Pharmaceuticals. Apotex produces deferiprone, an experimental drug designed to treat thalassemia, a rare disorder in which iron slowly (and fatally) builds up in the bloodstream. Olivieri, who works at the Hospital for Sick Children in Toronto, drew on Apotex funds to study deferiprone—with what seemed like exciting results. Previously, thalassemics had to undergo extensive blood transfusions in order to filter out excessive iron. The drug seemed to perform the same task, releasing patients from the shackles of the transfusion process. In 1995 Olivieri published her preliminary findings in *NEJM* (with Apotex's blessing). But as time progressed, she found that her patients who continued treatment with deferiprone weren't doing so well. Iron levels began creeping upward again. She informed Apotex officials who discounted her findings and, following their contract, prohibited her from publishing her new results. Apotex eventually appointed an "independent" review committee of four scientists, all of whom promptly adopted the company line.

FURBERG SAYS SANDOZ STAFF TRIED TO "DOWNPLAY" THE HEALTH RISKS HE HAD NOTED IN HIS MANUSCRIPT.

Granted, Olivieri might well be wrong about deferiprone's long-term efficacy. But why wouldn't Apotex allow her to submit her results to a peer-reviewed journal? If her findings were so clearly off base, they wouldn't likely pass muster with outside reviewers. Frustrated by the impasse, Olivieri broke the confidentiality agreement by allowing her lawyer to release the following statement to the press: "Dr. Olivieri wants to put her views on the record and allow scientific debate to take place. She is the leading authority in the world on this and she felt it important to make the scientific community aware."

UNIVERSITIES are supposed to protect their employees from being put in Olivieri's unhappy situation. But when the financial stakes are *really* high, even the strongest contractual protections may not be enough to shield academics from aggressive pharmaceutical executives. Consider the example of a three-year study of calcium channel blockers, a high-blood-pressure medication that in 1995 was the most frequently prescribed drug in the U.S., yielding over $3.7 billion in sales. The study was designed to compare DynaCirc, a popular calcium channel blocker, with a traditional diuretic to determine which was more effective in reducing hypertension. Substantial funding came from Swiss pharmaceutical giant Sandoz, which produces DynaCirc.

The study, headquartered at Wake Forest University, included contractual language ensuring academic freedom for the nine researchers involved. But, says Curt Furberg, a professor at Wake Forest, Sandoz "began to intervene anyway" when the study revealed something unexpected: Not only was DynaCirc no more effective than the diuretic, but patients taking DynaCirc experienced nearly twice as many strokes and "vascular events" like angina and heart failure. Furberg was alarmed—the millions of patients who took calcium channel blockers were possibly at risk. While the study was specifically designed to compare efficacy, not safety, many of the researchers were nonetheless troubled by the implications.

Sandoz research staff, Furberg says, became "agitated by these findings" and "introduced themselves into the drafting of the report," where "they put in language designed to downplay the problems." In addition, Sandoz executives bestowed gifts on researchers that made Furberg and several other group members uncomfortable—such as posh lodging in Lake Tahoe for a group meeting and snazzy ski jackets emblazoned with the company logo. The last straw, Furberg says, was when Sandoz circulated a final draft of the paper that "had eliminated key phrases that already had been agreed upon by the group," such as words highlighting safety questions in the paper's abstract. Last summer, four of the study's major authors quit in protest over what they considered excessive pressure from Sandoz.

To be sure, some members of the research team, including lead author Vardaman Buckalew of Wake Forest, apparently agreed with Sandoz's milder interpretation of the data. (Writing in *JAMA,* Buckalew underscored that he felt the results "should

BOWMAN GRAY SCHOOL OF MEDICINE AT WAKE FOREST UNIVERSITY

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be interpreted with caution and, at most, indicate a need for further study.") But even Buckalew notes that "Sandoz officials involved themselves in discussions as to what language to use in the manuscript."

So what happened to the article? The report appeared in *JAMA* last September, with an addendum revealing that several researchers had left the study and removed their names from the manuscript—something virtually unheard of in scientific papers. So were the editors of one of the most prestigious medical journals duped into publishing spin-controlled science? Not quite. Furberg's story has a surprise ending: Peer review led to the removal of many of Sandoz's changes. "Peer review worked," he says jubilantly. "The reviewers must have seen that the Sandoz-approved draft downplayed the bad and up-played the neutral." Furberg chuckles. "I know I'm happier with the published study than Sandoz is." Even lead author Buckalew agrees that "the original drafts had serious problems. I'm more pleased with the peer-reviewed version."

This past January, Furberg and the others who left the study published a follow-up letter in *JAMA*. "We feel it important to state publicly why we dropped out of the investigative group while the final paper was under preparation," they wrote. "We believed that the sponsor of the study was attempting to wield undue influence on the nature of the final paper. This effort was so oppressive that we felt it inhibited academic freedom."

When *Lingua Franca* attempted to contact Sandoz officials, they did not return calls. "The company has wisely decided not to challenge our *JAMA* statement," Furberg says.

OF COURSE, MOST scientists never butt heads with the companies who fund them. If anything, such relationships tend to be quite cozy. Harvard public health professor David Blumenthal says, "People focus on these high-profile conflicts, but what may be more common is that a researcher *willingly* toes the company line—delaying publication, underplaying certain data, and so on." After all, companies seek out researchers whose previous publications indicate a sympathy with their goals. As one biologist puts it, "The fuel industry isn't going to sign contracts with environmentalist researchers, and vice versa."

Is it a coincidence, say, that the only recent high-profile study arguing against the link between salt and high blood pressure—appearing last fall in *JAMA*—was funded by the research offshoot of Campbell's soup? Jeremiah Stamler, a hypertension expert at Northwestern, doesn't think so. In fact, he claims that Campbell's and other food companies have labored hard to "create the impression that there's a scholarly dissensus on salt, when there isn't one—at least among federally funded researchers." Stamler's 1988 INTERSALT study, the most comprehensive look into the matter, shows a clear link between salt and hypertension. His findings, he says, have been

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nitpicked by scientists with financial ties to the food industry. One of these salvos, funded by the Salt Institute, was so feeble that the *British Medical Journal* published it last May with a mocking editorial introduction: "This analysis is of service only to illustrate the lengths to which a commercial group will go to protect its market when presented with clear evidence detrimental to its interest."

Some scientists take issue with the anti-salt argument. Suzanne Oparil, a cardiologist at the University of Alabama, says: "In my opinion, if you required dramatically lower salt levels across the board, you'd make food inedible by our standards," she says. "It's a very costly and unrealistic idea and leads to reduced lifestyle satisfaction. There are other, better ways to prevent heart disease." Oparil, who currently consults with Campbell's in its efforts "to develop a heart-healthy food line," claims that Stamler isn't playing fair when he points to his opponents' dependence on industry funding sources. "He's emeritus," she points out. "He doesn't have to support a research group anymore."

Oparil recently edited a supplement to the *American Journal of Clinical Nutrition,* titled "Dietary Sodium & Health," representing what she terms a "wide range of views" on salt. The volume is the result of a conference funded by the International Life Sciences Institute, a lobbying group for the food industry with a board of trustees that includes both academics and executives from Kraft, Procter & Gamble, and Kellogg's. Stamler calls the supplement "misleading," noting that the conference was "heavily stacked toward the pro-salt position." (In the end, he grudgingly agreed to submit a paper to the conference "to lend some kind of balance.") Stamler further observes that the journal has "no conflict-of-interest policy—so readers have no way to tell which papers were industry funded." Oparil naturally bristles at what she calls Stamler's attempt to "discredit alternate views" on sodium. Does she worry, though, that her associations with Campbell's and the food industry will lead colleagues to doubt her objectivity? "I'm sure that's what some people say about me behind my back," she sighs.

WHETHER OR NOT

industry funding leads to significant bias, experts say research supported by industry is less innovative and more product oriented than federally funded science. In her new book *Prescriptions for Profits* (Scribner), Linda Marsa reports that in 1991 the Food and

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JOANN MANSON SAYS THE PUBLIC CAN'T HAVE IT BOTH WAYS—DEMANDING BOTH SPEEDY MEDICAL ADVANCES AND SOME FAIRY-TALE VISION OF ACADEMIC PURITY.

Drug Administration approved 327 new drugs and products, "yet only five of them were considered a significant advance. All five of the therapies...were devised with federal funds."

Jonathan King, a protein-folding expert at MIT, sees a similar pattern in his field of molecular biology. "I devote most of my energies to studying the complex ways that neurological diseases like Alzheimer's develop," he says. "But some of my colleagues seem primarily interested in hooking up with some biotech firm to develop therapies that may help alleviate the condition. That's important work, without a doubt, but academic research is supposedly all about rooting around for the fundaments of scientific problems."

Other scientists think the notion of scientific research's "good old days" is a canard. Harvard's JoAnn Manson is concerned that "misguided ethics police" will clamp down on important alliances that work to benefit patients. "Collaboration between science and industry is crucial, particularly in the medical realm," she says. "This is how the public gets safe and effective therapies. If scientists refuse to talk to companies, progress will slow down." In the end, says Manson, "The public can't have it both ways—demanding both speedy medical advances and some fairy-tale vision of academic purity."

Suzanne Oparil adds that it's perfectly natural for industry-funded research to be less about stargazing and more about "technology and applied research." She notes that "Harold Varmus, director of the NIH, often says that he wants to keep government funds focused on pure bench research, since clinical trials have become so expensive. But clinical trials are crucial for public health." A drug trial for a heart medication, Oparil says, can ultimately cost upwards of $200 million. "So industry has taken up the slack for research that's of a different character, but equally important."

No doubt. And yet there's a reason many scientists look back wistfully to the time when the ivory tower and industry remained separate worlds. As Curt Furberg puts it, "When you read a journal article that's funded by the government, you don't immediately ask yourself: Can I trust this?" Even so, Furberg admits, he continues to do research with a mixture of government and industry funds. How does he feel about the compromise? "Fortunately," Furberg chuckles, "some companies are nicer than others."

Daniel Zalewski is a senior editor of *Lingua Franca*.

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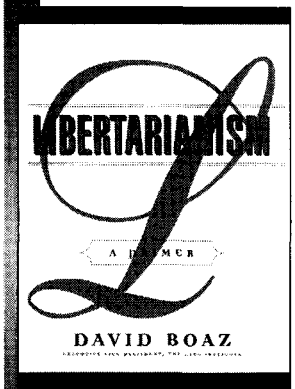

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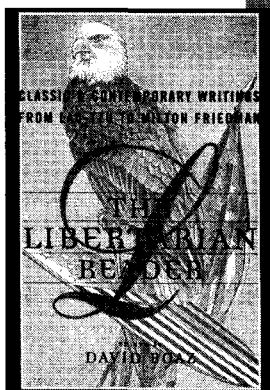

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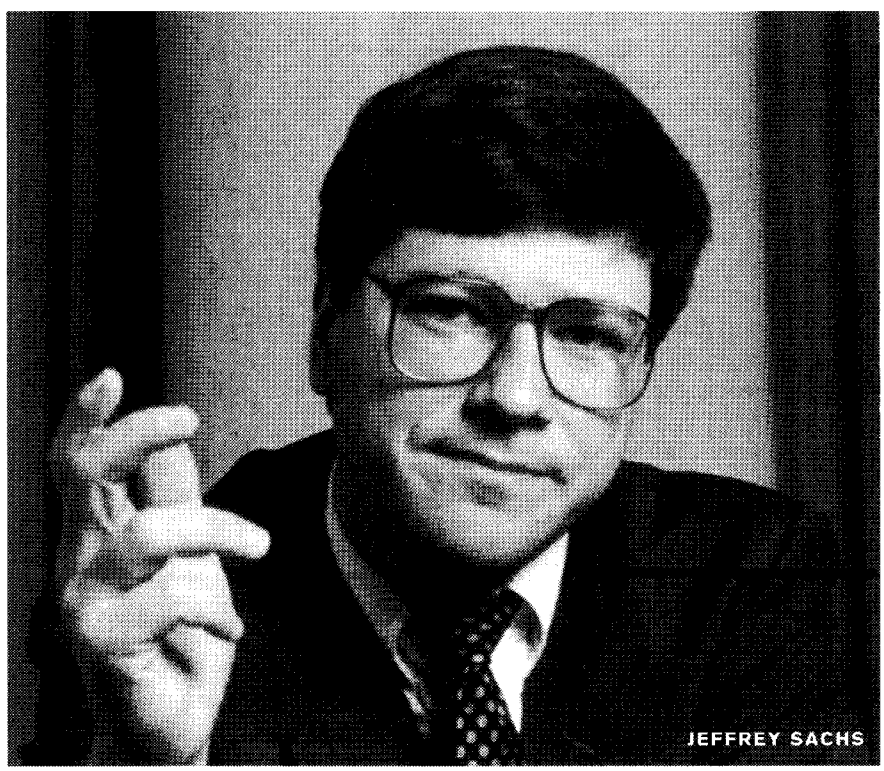
DR. SHOCK

JEFFREY SACHS

JEFFREY D. SACHS, THE FORTY-TWO-year-old economist who helped bring capitalism to Eastern Europe and Russia, loves to quote Karl Marx. In Harvard's Memorial Hall each spring, he lectures nine hundred undergraduates on the bountiful promise of modern capitalism, citing his favorite passage from *The Communist Manifesto.*

"The bourgeoisie, by the rapid improvement of all instruments of production, by the immensely facilitated means of communication, draws all, even the most barbarian nations into civilization," Sachs intones, his voice almost too quick for itself, as if he can't wait to get to the punch line. "The cheap prices of its commodities are the heavy artillery with which it batters down all Chinese walls.... It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilization into their midst, i.e., to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image."

This is a stirring passage, one that helped motivate revolutionary struggles against capitalism for a century and a half. But as Sachs uses it, this same passage helps explain why the only struggle worth engaging in is the struggle for capitalism: "Marx was the most intense and passionate admirer of the dynamics of modern capitalism. He was the great exponent of capitalism's dynamism." He pauses. "Of course, Marx was also wrong about capitalism's future," he says, chuckling. His students laugh, too.



JEFFREY SACHS

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Marx is a natural object of curiosity for Sachs. Behind the banter, Sachs seems genuinely fascinated that someone who understood the overwhelming beauty of the capitalist system could be so fatally mistaken about its future. Then again, if it hadn't been for Marx's mistake, Jeffrey Sachs would never have gotten to make history here at the end of history.

After the collapse of communism, a great number of American academics were called upon to cross the Atlantic and help build new societies. But none has played as important a role as Sachs, who, seeking to effect the transformation from communism to capitalism

BY **JAMES SUROWIECKI**

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with one swift—his critics would say ruthless—stroke, brought his controversial "shock therapy" to Poland and Russia. Indeed, he often comes across as a veritable Lenin of neoliberalism, theorizing about "deep historical processes," thundering "What is to be done?" and preaching the benefits of global revolution. His many admirers in academia and the national press hail him as a visionary, extolling his work as a uniquely effective synthesis of theoretical insight and practical experience. His critics—from Wall Street bankers to radical social theorists—see him as variously overweening in his ambitions, indifferent to the social costs of his policies, and fatally addicted to the quick fix. No one, though, doubts Sachs's faith in his own ideas or his willingness to apply them in the real world. After spending nearly a dozen years in the trenches of global finance, Third World hyperinflation, and post-communist chaos and corruption, Sachs has emerged unshaken in his belief in the unfettered free market as an inherent good and shock therapy as the best means to get there.

Yet Sachs's experiences also expose the fragility of global capitalism's promise and the ironies with which it is riddled. An outspoken advocate of market forces, Sachs has spent much of his career assailing the shortsightedness and greed of the very Western capitalists he admires ("Russia's tragedy is that no investment banker's Christmas bonus has ever depended on Russia's financial stability," he remarked bitterly, after his controversial stint as a shock therapist in Moscow). A firm believer in a one-size-fits-all approach to economic development, Sachs has nevertheless delivered starkly different results in Poland and Russia. Finally, although his globehopping career may be the envy of his colleagues—an academic's dream of turning theory into practice—it's hardly clear that his recipe for transforming the everyday exigencies of post-communist life is, as he seems to think, fail-safe.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

IN RETROSPECT, IT'S only fitting that Sachs discovered his vocation while on a trip behind the Iron Curtain. The summer after he graduated from high school in suburban Detroit, seventeen-year-old Sachs traveled to East Germany to visit a pen pal. The son of a labor lawyer, Sachs had visited the Soviet Union two years earlier, on a trip organized by Detroit unions. But this time, Sachs's East German host was a true believer in communism, and he wanted Sachs to become one as well. "I was fascinated and perturbed and perplexed by East Germany," says Sachs, who looks something like Dick Gephardt with a darker, thicker head of hair, over breakfast in the cafeteria of Harvard's John F. Kennedy School of Government. "I was hosted by a true advocate of the system, and in talking to him I realized that I didn't really understand either system."

As a freshman at Harvard that fall, Sachs had planned to study political science, go into law, and, ultimately, politics. But after the summer trip to East Germany, he was less sure. During his first week on campus, he attended a lecture by Daniel Patrick Moynihan, who had assigned as reading material Joseph Schumpeter's *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (1942), an ambivalent account of the "creative destruction" wreaked by capitalism on society. Sachs was hooked. "I didn't understand a lot of it, but I was transfixed," he says. "Then I read Galbraith, got into Ec. 10 and never looked back."

Sachs's academic record is a case study in the education of a prodigy. He took macroeconomics with Martin Feldstein, who would later chair the Council of Economic Advisers under Reagan, and found a mentor. By the

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MOSCOW, 1995

PETER BLAKELY/SABA

time he graduated from Harvard in 1976, Sachs had fulfilled the course requirements for the Ph.D. in economics. Two years later, he was invited to join the Society of Fellows, an elite group of Harvard scholars selected for their exceptional academic promise. By 1980 Sachs had his doctorate and an appointment in the Harvard economics department.

Had Sachs continued on that path, he might have ended up, as did a number of his colleagues, a senior bureaucrat at the World Bank or the Treasury Department. Or perhaps he might have become a Paul Krugman type, dismantling conventional wisdom with provocative sallies launched from the safety of the ivory tower. But Sachs chose a different route—one that took him into corridors of power all right, but corridors far more treacherous than those of Washington or Cambridge.

IN 1985, BOLIVIA WAS the basket case of Latin America. This is saying something, since most of the region's countries were struggling under oppressive military regimes, grinding poverty, and mountains of debt to foreign creditors. In addition to these problems, Bolivia had an annual inflation rate of about 25,000 percent, which meant that the U.S. dollar had replaced the peso as the real marker of value. By June 1985 the situation had so deteriorated that the military bowed out, relinquishing its power—and responsibility for the crisis—to a democratically elected president. It was in these circumstances that several representatives of the Bolivian government came to Harvard to speak and, undoubtedly, to solicit advice. Invitations went out to faculty and students, but almost no one came. Except Sachs.

After the talk, Sachs recalls, "I pointed out that some of the things the Bolivians were thinking were probably not the right approach, and they said, 'Well, if you think you know what to do, come down and try it.'" Sachs was "invited"—"invited" is the word he uses to describe his appointments, including his hiring by Harvard—to visit Bolivia and offer his appraisal of the situation. While he was there, he met the president, Víctor Paz Estenssoro, who liked him and asked him to become an economic adviser. Sachs immediately agreed. The young economist's can-do attitude must have been comforting at a time when the country's prospects seemed so grim, and, as Sachs himself points out matter-of-factly, "It's not as if I was fighting through a crowd of competing advisers. There was no one else there. So they were stuck with a thirty-one-year-old working in practical terms for the first time."

Sachs would spend the next four years shuttling back and forth between Cambridge and La Paz. The stakes were enormous. On the one hand, he was alarmingly young and untested, and had only his well-regarded work in economic theory to offer a country of six million desperate citizens. On the other hand, no one else had proposed a solution, and the crisis could hardly get worse. Sachs insists he didn't worry about his inexperience or his total reliance on theory. Instead, he says, he worried about the lack of popular support for the democratic government and the reaction of the international community to his proposed economic overhaul.

In important respects, Sachs's program for drastic and rapid reform in Bolivia anticipated his later experiments

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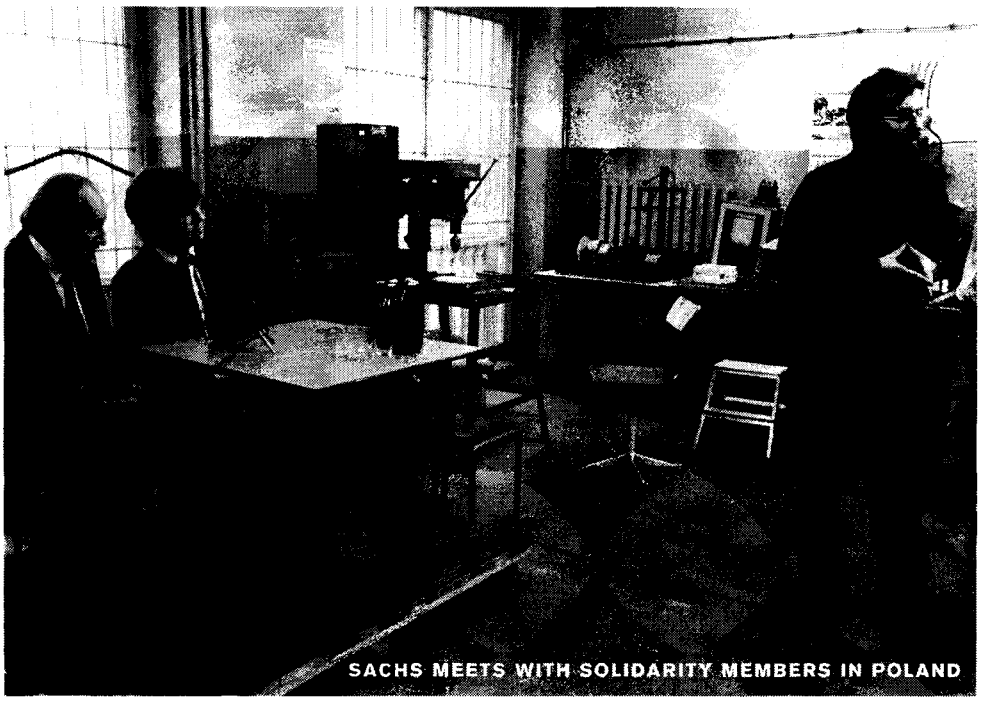

SACHS MEETS WITH SOLIDARITY MEMBERS IN POLAND

with shock therapy. His objectives—creating a stable convertible currency and tight restrictions on monetary and fiscal policy—were in keeping with conventional wisdom. But his conviction that the necessary changes could be implemented almost immediately was far more unorthodox. Sachs's most controversial belief, however, was that solving the fiscal crisis in Bolivia and the rest of Latin America required a total moratorium on debt payments to Western creditors.

By the middle of 1986, Sachs's reforms were in place, and, over the protestations of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), Bolivia stubbornly upheld its moratorium on debt payments. Hyperinflation disappeared. His colleagues both inside the academy and on Wall Street began to hail the "Bolivian miracle" and the man responsible for it.

In the beginning, however, Bolivia didn't get any richer. As Sachs remarked shortly after the reforms were instituted, "If you want to be cynical about it, you could say Bolivia used to be a miserably poor country suffering from hyperinflation and now it's a miserably poor country without inflation." Indeed, to Sachs's critics on the left, the program—which brought about higher unemployment, wage freezes, and a sharp rise in the price of heating oil—was evidence of heartlessness: a callous indifference to social welfare in the single-minded pursuit of macroeconomic goals. In 1988, three years after the reforms began, the country's gross domestic product was less than what it had been at the beginning of the decade. But that fact is deceiving, since it was only after Sachs's plan was instituted that Bolivia's economy was able to maintain steady growth. The epilogue, in fact, is a happy one. Last year, Bolivia had the second fastest-growing economy in Latin America, and Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada, the adviser with whom Sachs worked most closely, was elected president of the country.

Even as he was fighting the IMF at home and angry workers in Bolivia, Sachs was teaching a full load of classes at Harvard and writing papers for economics journals and the mainstream press. During the Eighties, he took on the financial establishment repeatedly in print, challenging those economists and bankers who insisted that third-world countries must keep up their foreign debt payments whatever the costs. Attacking Reagan treasury secretary James Baker for having "graciously put American foreign policy at the disposal of America's largest banks," Sachs insisted that the banks themselves should shoulder much of the cost of debt reduction. Former Citicorp chairman Walter Wriston called Sachs a "paid flack for the countries of Latin America."

In the end, Nicholas Brady, Baker's successor as treasury secretary, brokered a deal between Western banks and developing countries to reschedule and write off a portion of their foreign debt. Because the deal relied on the voluntary involvement of banks, this was only a partial victory for developing countries. But for Sachs it was a victory nonetheless, one that left his appetite for confrontation and difficult projects undiminished. Though he had never written on socialism, when the call for help came from Warsaw, he did not hesitate to say yes. Why not? His theories had worked in Bolivia, so why couldn't they work everywhere?

IN JULY 1989 representatives of the Solidarity labor union asked Sachs and Wall Street economist David Lipton to draft a reform program that would make Poland's transition to a market economy as brief as possible. Afflicted with the usual array of late-communist ills—chronic shortages of food and supplies, declining production, and billions in foreign debt—the Polish economy was also suffering from the ravages of hyperinflation. Solidarity leaders had heard about the "Bolivian miracle," and, to them, Sachs was the obvious choice for pulling off such a feat in their own country.

In September, two months after Lipton and Sachs presented their plan in Warsaw, a democratically elected, Solidarity-led government took power. The first words the new deputy prime minister, Leszek Balcerowicz, said to Sachs were, "Yes, we will make a radical reform." He asked Sachs and Lipton to come aboard as advisers and give shock therapy its first real try.

ANNA BEATA BOHDZIEWICZ

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At this point, Sachs's team was entering waters that were almost entirely uncharted. While an ample canon of theory on hyperinflation had served to guide his efforts in Bolivia, there was very little theory—and not a single relevant case study—to consult for tips on how to convert communist economies into free markets. Sachs, however, was unfazed. Searching for precedents, he turned to studies on the remaking of the German economy after World War II.

At the heart of Sachs's vision for transforming former Soviet-bloc economies were two powerful concepts: stabilization and liberalization. Stabilization was designed to kill hyperinflation by slashing the budget deficit—through cuts in private investment and in subsidies, especially those for food—and by tightening monetary policy and thereby extinguishing access to cheap credit. Liberalization involved three steps: abandoning nearly all price controls, opening the Polish economy to international trade, and devaluing the Polish currency, the zloty.

Once again, Sachs's innovations had less to do with content than timing. Under his Polish reform program, stabilization and liberalization would take place almost instantly. Ideally, Sachs argued, the privatization of state-owned enterprises would occur right away, too. But because any scheme to transfer state-controlled firms to private hands takes time to implement, Sachs realized full privatization would have to be postponed. In response to Sachs's plan, many of his colleagues contended that to end price controls without simultaneous privatization was to risk allowing giant state-owned enterprises to monopolize—and artificially elevate—prices. Other naysayers pointed to another risk in abolishing price controls, which is known in the profession as the "dentist problem." Even if the government only controls prices for certain goods, when those controls are lifted, every dentist takes advantage of the situation and raises his prices as well, which means that the average consumer's purchasing power is eroded even more than strictly necessary for economic recovery.

Sachs understood these dangers, but he argued that reform must be approached as a "seamless web." And while you couldn't privatize an economy with more than 7,000 state-owned enterprises overnight, by ending subsidies and letting in foreign companies, you could, he hypothesized, force state enterprises to begin to behave like private businesses. Moreover, Sachs wagered that an end to price controls would cause a sharp but only ephemeral spike in prices. Based on his results in Bolivia, Sachs believed that the most radical changes were the most effective.

Of course, shock therapy would have its side effects, Sachs admitted: Dramatic cutbacks in public subsidies and the simultaneous restriction of credit would cause significant hardships. What's more, in the new, competitive market, Polish firms would feel pressure to keep their labor costs low. Since they could no longer borrow from the state, companies would have to lay off workers or hold down wages in order to stay afloat.

Everything Sachs's critics predicted would happen did. Prices jumped a remarkable 80 percent in the first two weeks. Real wages dropped 30 percent, and the international press was filled with claims that living standards had precipitously declined. The unemployment rate climbed steeply, reaching 9.2 percent by the end of 1991 and nearly 13 percent by the end of 1992. Industrial output dropped sharply. An assessment in *The Nation* called the plan distinctive in its "ferocious speed" and "ruthless abandon" and held out the possibility that Poland would collapse into right-wing authoritarianism in the near future, a state of affairs, the magazine fumed, for which "Jeffrey Sachs and his capitalist shock treatment will share in the responsibility."

Then again, everything Sachs hoped would happen did. After the sharp initial rise in prices, inflation dropped and has continued to track steadily downward. Stores and markets filled up with goods, exports boomed, and the Polish budget went into surplus. By mid-1992, there were more than a half million new small busi-

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RONALD McDONALD IN MOSCOW, 1995

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EMPTY STORE, MOSCOW

SHOPPING
PLEX, MOSCOW

THROUGHOUT THE RUSSIAN DEBACLE, THE KEY MISSING INGREDIENT, SACHS ARGUED, WAS WESTERN AID.

nesses. Poles were buying more consumer goods and eating more meat and fruit. (All accounts of the period mention the consumption of fruit.) When enterprising vendors began setting up impromptu markets in the streets, the old guard reacted by trying to impose regulations, but Balcerowicz intervened, saying, "You will not touch these people—they are the reason we're doing this." Perhaps most crucially, Western Europe came through with much-needed aid to fund unemployment insurance and keep the zloty stable. Poland also successfully lobbied for the cancellation of half of its foreign debt, mitigating a burden which many of its neighbors continue to bear

Not everyone, however, agreed that the Polish experiment was a success. Angered by the rapid rise in unemployment, voters turned out the Solidarity-backed government in 1993 and put in its place a government led by ex-communists (albeit ex-communists who altered none of the essential ingredients of the reform program). Some of Sachs's colleagues in the United States were equally skeptical. In a 1995 article in the scholarly *American Economist*, professors Edward K. Zajicek and James B. Heisler argued that "the cost" of Sachs's program had been "incredibly high," and questioned the sustainability of Poland's current boom. Casting doubt on the theoretical underpinnings of shock therapy, they insisted that the transition from socialist into market economies requires at least fifteen to twenty years. "While this may appear quite long by American 'immediate results' standards," they added testily, "it is short in comparison to the time it has taken [free-market] institutions to become a part of the fabric of life in any of the Western economies Poland would seek to emulate."

Nevertheless, most economists have applauded Sachs's record in Poland. Indeed, Poland was recently dubbed "the soaring eagle of Europe" by the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development. The current Polish government is avidly pursuing market reforms, and the country had Eastern Europe's fastest-growing economy in 1996. "It worked," says Sachs, glowing with pride. "Hungary was everybody's darling in 1989, and isn't it ironic that Poland's grown faster than Hungary." Once again, Sachs had made the intellectual journey from theory to practice and apparently triumphed. The world had not failed to live up to his expectations. "Everything," he says resolutely, "is susceptible of analysis and solution."

Of course, Sachs is not the first American policy maker to confront a complicated world with such unwavering certainty. In his optimism and confidence are echoes of another historical moment, the early Sixties, when Americans like McGeorge Bundy and Robert McNamara thought they knew how to save the world from communism and underdevelopment alike. "If those years had any central theme," David Halberstam later wrote about the period, "if there was anything that bound the men...together, it was the belief that sheer intelligence and rationality could answer and solve anything."

Bundy and McNamara eventually discovered the insoluble somewhere between Hue and Saigon. And though he appears unchastened, Sachs, too, may have stumbled—in Russia.

THE CENTRAL question in the postmortems that continue to fill Op-Ed pages and policy-wonk magazines in the wake of Sachs's resignation and departure from Russia in January 1994 has been a seemingly straightforward one: Did economic reform fail? The answer—as even Sachs admits—is not entirely obvious. Early in 1992, the Westernizers, led by Yegor Gaidar, invited Sachs to Moscow, where he served as an adviser to Boris Yeltsin. Russia's fledgling market reformers were firmly in power, and, with Sachs's assistance, they began implementing a

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS (LEFT) SOVFOTO/EASTFOTO (RIGHT)

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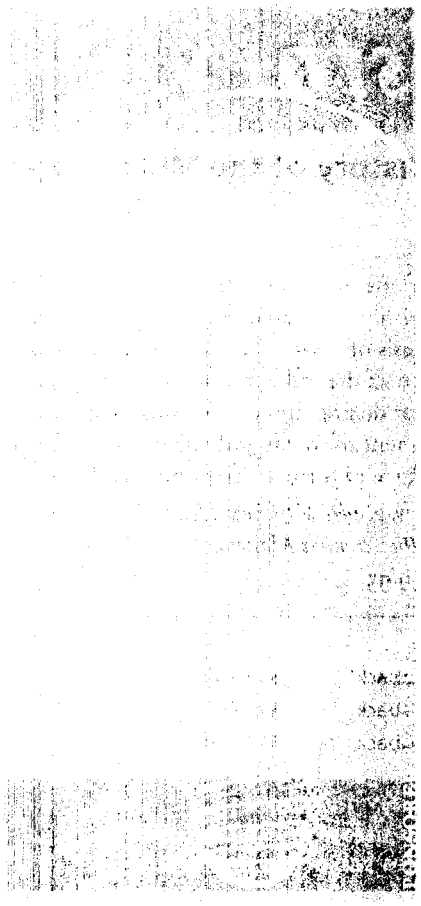
shock-therapy program modeled in part on the one used in Poland. Yet the revamping of the Russian economy has proven to be a long and frustrating process, undermined by frequent political reversals as well as by rampant crime and corruption. Although the reformers succesfully sold off thousands of state enterprises, the process has not always been pretty. (Sachs himself believes that the privatization of Gazprom, the natural gas monopoly, was botched so badly that the company should be renationalized.) Meanwhile, back wages owed to workers now total billions of rubles. According to public surveys, Russians believe their lives are worse, not better, than they were before the reforms.

All of which one might take as evidence that Russia's shock therapy failed. And all of which Sachs claims is proof that shock therapy was never given a fair trial.

At first, the Gaidar team succeeded in halting Russia's economic meltdown. During the winter of 1991–1992, Russians, who were desperate for basic foodstuffs and electricity, were willing to experiment. As a result, the Gaidar team was able to take charge, taming inflation and laying the groundwork for the eventual stabilization of the ruble. During this phase, says Sachs, his most important role was rhetorical: to reassure the reformers that the short-term costs of shock therapy would be far outweighed by long-term gains. But as with his Bolivian and Polish work, he was not on the scene all the time. During the spring and fall of 1992, Sachs was teaching at Harvard and commuting back and forth between Cambridge and Moscow.

Even if he had been holed up in the Kremlin the entire time, it's not clear he or his colleagues could have done much to thwart the mounting political opposition to reform. In January 1992, eleven days after the start of the reforms, the speaker of the parliament, Ruslan Khasbulatov, called for the resignation of the government because it had failed. A few weeks later, Vice President Alexsandr Rutskoi called shock therapy "economic genocide." The politically maladroit Gaidar team found itself unable to navigate in this climate of overheated tempers and mutual suspicion.

Perhaps the turning point was Yeltsin's appointment of Viktor Gerashchenko as head of the Russian Central Bank in July, just seven months after the reforms had begun. Gerashchenko was a former member of the state nomenklatura, and his appointment, symbolizing Yeltsin's bow to the still powerful old guard, meant that the most important element of shock therapy—stabilization of the ruble—was no longer under the reformers' control. Within five months, Gerashchenko increased the money supply more than two hundred percent to subsidize credits for heavy industries—almost all of which were run by former party leaders. In doing so, he brought the country all the way back to the brink of hyperinflation. Just as bad, the persistent inflation and the failure to remove subsidies and credits to state industry meant that there was no



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money, and even less political will, to build a safety net that could protect Russians from the worst aspects of the transition. Even as some people were becoming very rich, most Russians were watching their living standards plummet. Anger mounted. Shock therapy seemed to have killed its patient.

Throughout the debacle, the key missing ingredient, Sachs argued, was Western aid. "Some people think you can have the reform without the aid, and others think you can have the aid without the reform," he says. "I've always believed that real success in reform needs strong reforms plus international help." As Yeltsin's adviser, Sachs devoted a great deal of effort to lobbying the IMF and the G-7 nations to embrace a serious package of aid and debt rescheduling—if not forgiveness. Western money, he argued, would have made the task of stabilizing the ruble easier. It would have given the government the psychological breathing space and cash flow it needed to maintain popular support during the transition. Most urgently, he hoped the aid would have allowed the government to construct a social safety net without running up deficits that threatened to send the country back into hyperinflation. Without aid, he concluded, shock therapy was worthless.

SACHS MEETS WITH UKRAINIAN FINANCE MINISTER AT HARVARD, NOVEMBER 1996

TONY LORETI

There's no question that the West gave less than the Russians expected. Between 1992 and 1993, a period that culminated with the shelling of a rebellious parliament and the elections that drove leading reformers from power, the IMF promised $14 billion but delivered just $2.5 billion, while the World Bank and the European Bank of Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) promised $5 billion and delivered just $500 million—even as the EBRD was spending roughly $300 million to outfit its headquarters in London. Yeltsin's advisers missed the

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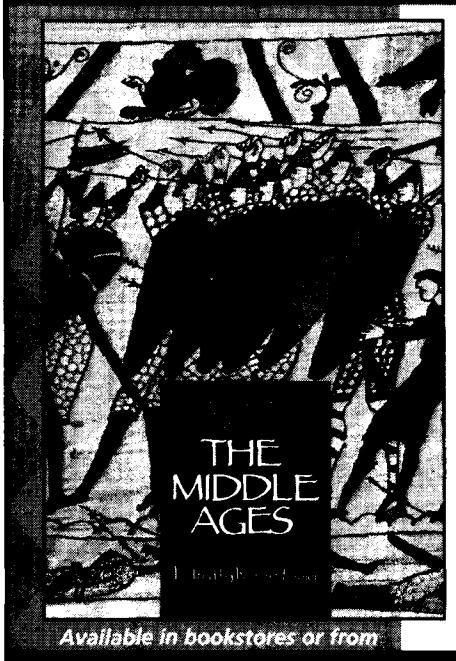

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JAGDISH BHAGWATI

money badly. By the end of 1992, Sachs wrote bitterly in *The New Republic*, "The reformers were seen as stooges of the West, who had sold out Russia for empty promises."

STILL, MANY of Sachs's colleagues are skeptical that Western aid would have been a magic bullet.

BHAGWATI ARGUED THAT SACHS'S REFORMS FAILED TO TAKE HOLD IN RUSSIA BECAUSE HE BLITHELY IGNORED THEIR POLITICAL REPERCUSSIONS.

"No matter how much money we pumped in, there's only so much they could have absorbed at any one time," says John Tedstrom, an economist at the RAND think tank. "You can't ask U.S. taxpayers to bail out a government that's not willing to bail out itself. And there's no evidence that the feckless Central Bank was willing to play ball." Even if Sachs was right in saying that Western aid was needed to make shock therapy work, his critics argue that he never provided a completely convincing rationale for Western intervention. At times, remarked economist Robert Hall during a 1992 discussion of Russian reform at the Brookings Institute, Sachs seemed to portray aid "mainly as a way to buy credibility for U.S. advice." Sachs's invocations of the Marshall Plan, meanwhile, seemed to miss the central role anticommunism played in encouraging American largesse after World War II. Without an external enemy to fear, and with its own recession to cope with, the United States was unlikely to supply assistance on the scale that Sachs expected.

Other critics of the Russia experiment have raised a larger concern: They charge that Sachs has been recklessly naive about local culture and politics. British political theorist John Gray attacked shock therapy's notorious indifference to local circumstances as "purblind and fundamentalist," insisting that strategies for economic development "legitimately and neces-

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sarily vary according to the diverse national cultures of the peoples who are their practitioners." In the United States, the distinguished Columbia University economist Jagdish Bhagwati argued that Sachs's reforms failed to take hold in Russia because he ignored their political repercussions, particularly with respect to layoffs: "In a country in which full employment was not only a principle of economics but also a principle of culture, the fear of joblessness went very deep." Writing in *The New Republic,* Bhagwati contended that "the eventual confrontation between the Russian parliament and the Yeltsin government was a tragedy whose script had been written unwittingly by the shock therapists."

Sachs has responded fiercely to these attacks, marshaling data to defend his record. He assailed Bhagwati as "a trade economist with virtually no professional experience in Poland and Russia"—surely a strange criticism coming from someone who has made a career out of advising countries he hardly knew. More substantively, he alluded to the stagnant economies of Romania and Ukraine and claimed that Bhagwati's "vaunted 'gradualist' stabilization strategy has been tried and has failed repeatedly."

BORIS YELTSIN RECEIVES GIFT FROM HORMEL PRESIDENT R.L. KNOWLTON

In his response to Gray, a pamphlet titled "Understanding 'Shock Therapy,'" Sachs questioned the notion that culture was a barrier to the adoption of capitalism's core economic institutions. He pointed to Japan's nineteenth-century modernization and to today's prosperous East Asian Tigers (including Taiwan, Singapore, and Hong Kong) as proof of the system's universal applicability. Of course, some economists challenge the assumption that the East Asian Tigers are a triumph of free-market capitalism, arguing instead that these countries represent a successful fusion of state intervention and protectionism with a healthy

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respect for the profit motive and private enterprise. But Sachs points to the relatively low tariffs, the convertible currencies, and the small state budgets of these countries and sees nations that are, in some way, the legacy of Adam Smith.

Meanwhile, Sachs has also faced sharp attacks from other critics of the new postcommunist order. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, the pages of left-wing magazines have been filled with sharp attacks on the socially corrosive impact of capitalism in the East. In journals such as Britain's *New Left Review*, economists have railed against the dramatic rise in crime throughout Eastern Europe—most notably in Russia; the alarming increase in the region's suicide rate; the steep climb in unemployment; and the growing numbers of people in poverty, all prima facie evidence, conclude shock therapy's opponents, of the policy's disastrous impact.

Sachs counters that statistics about the decline in living standards are a product of false comparisons with pre-1989 economies, when workers were employed in unproductive industries and there were few goods to buy with the high wages. But the larger point is that Sachs finds the notion of a meaningful economic alternative to capitalism nonsensical. Throughout his career, he says, his abiding concern has been to understand which economic system "delivers the goods," and capitalism, he concluded years ago, is the only one that qualifies.

"History ran an experiment," he said in his March lecture at Memorial Hall, and the results are unmistakable: "the exhaustion and collapse of the socialist model and the 'middle-way model.'" If Western-style capitalism sometimes brings with it social fragmentation and violence, these are not problems that Sachs sees as inherent to the system.

SACHS'S world seems a much quieter one now. For the moment, he's not an official adviser to any government. In July 1995, he was appointed director of the Harvard Institute for International Development (HIID), where he had been a fellow since 1993. The institute has become a powerful force in world development. Sachs now oversees a number of projects in the developing world, including extensive

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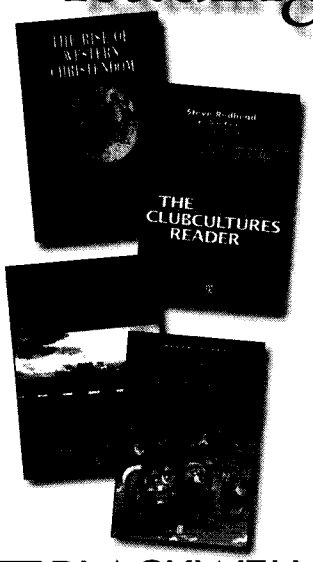

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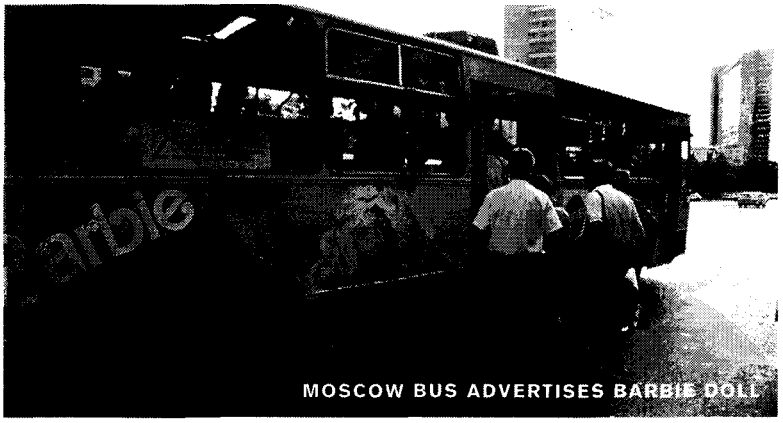

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RUSSIA MAY NOT HAVE SHAKEN SACHS'S FAITH IN FREE-MARKET ECONOMICS, BUT IT DOES APPEAR TO HAVE ALTERED HIS ESTIMATION OF HUMAN NATURE.

work on the prospects for growth in Africa. Currently before Congress is a legislative initiative devised with HIID's help that would target select African countries for a combination of foreign aid, dramatic market reforms, and deep debt relief. To all outward appearances, Sachs's approach to the world's problems has not changed much.

In a series of recent articles that he's written with HIID's Andrew Warner, who also worked with him in Russia, Sachs has argued that the crucial factor in determining a country's growth rate is the level of its integration into the world economy. In arguing this, Sachs has attempted to resurrect the economic hypothesis that there is an inverse relation between a country's per capita income and its growth rate. In other words, the poorer you are, the faster you'll grow. It's long been taught in introductory economics classes that for most of the world's countries this so-called convergence hypothesis is simply not true. But when Warner and Sachs divided the world into "open" and "closed" economies, they found that, for open economies, the convergence hypothesis is accurate. It's a markedly optimistic notion: Once the proper reforms are in place, their data suggest, global capitalism will benefit even the poorest open nations—and even the poorest citizens of those nations. Sachs likes to cite a recent HIID study that maintains that the living standards of a developing country's poorest quintile

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rise at the same rate as those of the country as a whole. "A rising tide doesn't lift all boats," he says, "but it lifts an awful lot of them."

NEVERTHELESS, there are hints that Sachs's relentless optimism has been tempered by his adventures abroad. Though Yeltsin has recently put much of his old reform team back in power, Sachs is unlikely to join them. He remains more skeptical of Russia's prospects for success today than other former Western advisers. When he went to Russia, colleagues told him that shock therapy wouldn't work there, that Russia was too different, that the people were too set in their ways, and that "a Russian would rather die of hunger than envy." Sachs dismissed them all. But the curious thing is this: Now that his experiment is over, he talks a lot about the peculiarities of Russian culture, how "Russia has always lacked a political tradition, even a rhetoric, of civic-mindedness." He talks a lot, ultimately, about corruption: "There was massive corruption taking

REUTERS/CORBIS BETTMANN

place, which would be unthinkable in Poland. I was just trying to stay with one foot on the ground in a tremendous storm. You would see things you could not believe. You saw reformers just fly off, be fired, be dismissed, be replaced...." His voice fades into a murmur. "Just awful, awful things."

Russia may not have shaken Sachs's faith in free-market economics, but it does appear to have altered his estimation of human nature. Homo economicus, it seems, is not such a reliable creature after all. Still, he insists that markets take advantage of some of the very best human impulses, and, for that reason, they are ultimately bound to be beneficient. As he puts it, with a typically universalizing flourish, "Market institutions are successful in part because they conform deeply with human aspirations toward freedom."

"[The bourgeoisie] believes," Marx wrote, "that the special conditions of its emancipation are the general conditions through which alone modern society can be saved and the class struggle avoided." Sachs's career has been one long attempt to show that the bourgeoisie is right.

James Surowiecki has written for *The Village Voice, The Boston Phoenix,* and *The Motley Fool* (a webzine on AOL). His article, "Genovese's March," appeared in the December/January 1997 issue of *Lingua Franca*.

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maneuvers, characterizing his article as motivated solely by jealousy and bad feelings, while largely ignoring his analysis.

Second, I am unconvinced that Reed has as much in common with his critics as Sherman and others assert. Sherman, like others (most notably Marable in the *New Politics* exchanges), finds it noteworthy, if not downright puzzling, that Reed would be going after those who are "left-liberal" when there are so many on the rabid right with whom to contend. Black public intellectuals' support for the Million Man March offers a perfect illustration of the distance between Reed and the intellectuals in question, however. West, Marable, and Michael Eric Dyson busied themselves with explaining to their "liberal" allies how things were so dismal for blacks that they were compelled to jettison their feminist and anti-anti-Semitic sensibilities in the service of community progress. All of this tortured logic aside, however, Louis Farrakhan's program for black Americans is the same type of retrograde, self-help, conservative politics supported by Newt Gingrich and the Democratic and Republican right. Where critics find Reed sectarian and "out of touch with the black masses," I find him ideologically grounded, principled, and consistent.

NIKOL G. ALEXANDER
DEPT. OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

Your report on the quarrel between members of the University of Chicago's philosophy department and its dean concerning promotion criteria was very welcome to me ["Peer Pressure," *LF*, March]. It helped illuminate why, like Professor Howard Stein, some colleagues and I have always objected strenuously to any policy that automatically gives lesser weight—or, as in this case apparently, no weight at all—to invited publications than to those that have appeared in refereed journals that follow blind-review procedures.

However, your reporter's suggestion that Chicago administrators might have been "chary about promoting someone who didn't have a conventionally credentialed curriculum vitae" because the philosophy department's National Research Council ranking had slipped over the last fifteen years raises a different issue that needs to be addressed. The implicit assumptions that these rankings are thoroughly objective and highly meaningful and that university administrations are expected to forgo independent judgment and rely on outside rankings are very disturbing. These assumptions are particularly pernicious for the discipline of philosophy, which thrives on raising questions about whatever is conventionally regarded as objectively true, at any given time, both in the world at large and within the discipline itself.

WILLIAM L. McBRIDE
PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY
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"The University of Chicago might have let [Wittgenstein] go"—so one reads in the article "Peer Pressure." That is strik-

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ing. And the thought is imputed to me: "At least that's how it seems to Chicago professor Howard Stein...." *That*, it seems to me, is artful. The article does not say that I *expressed* that opinion, and I did not. Nor do I in fact think the University of Chicago would have denied tenure to Wittgenstein. But would any reader receive the impression that your reporter is merely attempting to read my mind? Does not the statement, on the contrary, rather strongly suggest—although without expressly stating—that she is paraphrasing my words?

Your article seems to put in my mouth an opinion that I consider both false and unjust to the dean and the rest of the administration, one that is certainly calculated to do exactly what I wished to avoid—namely, inflame the dispute. The disagreement involved is serious enough. I think it a disservice, not only to the disagreeing parties but also to the public that may have an interest in these events, to depict it in heightened colors.

Let me add one thing. The article refers to my announcement that I had requested a demotion from the rank of full professor as more shocking still than my objection to the standards I was protesting and goes on to ask: "What could make an academic philosopher sacrifice his rank?" My own view of that point is quite different. I do not regard my reduction in rank—nominal, as it is; formal, as I requested it be—as any sort of "sacrifice" at all. I did of course intend the "demotion" as a protest and, at the same time, as a demonstration of my own view that (in contrast to the question of tenure, which is a matter of obviously deep importance for a professor and for the university) the use of distinctions of rank as a source of prestige in research universities is really a deplorable one.

I do not think my standing with my colleagues, or with anyone whose opinion matters to me, depends on my rank. Indeed, in the letter to the provost in which I requested the reduction I also remarked that "my view of such things has tended to be the proverbial one of the demobilized World War II veteran: 'Call Me Mister.'"

HOWARD STEIN
PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The editors reply:
The allusion to Wittgenstein was intended to help clarify Professor Stein's disagreement with University of Chicago administrators over promotion criteria for candidates in philosophy. We did not intend to imply that Professor Stein necessarily believed that Chicago would have refused Wittgenstein tenure. But we do think the analogy was apt.

[redacted]

Perhaps the best comment on the allegation that the Iroquois Confederacy influenced the formation of the U.S. Constitution ["Tribal Lore," *LF*, March] came a few years ago from a docent at Sir William Johnson's mansion in upstate New York. Johnson, a white land speculator married to an Iroquois woman,

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served as a superintendent of Indian affairs during the mid-eighteenth century. While visiting the mansion in August 1994, I asked a docent what he thought about the controversy regarding the Iroquois and the Constitution. He hadn't heard of it, and I briefly outlined the claims in the case for him. His response: "They modeled the Constitution on the League of the Iroquois? They didn't do a very good job, did they?"

WILLIAM A. DOBAK
HYATTSVILLE, MD

CRASH

Did my eyes deceive me or did this article claim that automobiling in *An American Tragedy* ["Dreiser's Holiday," *LF*, February] was nothing but carefree? Your writer misstates her case in trying to prove that Dreiser departs from his contemporaries on the cultural meaning of cars. In fact, it is noteworthy how similar this novel's use of the killer automobile is to Fitzgerald's in *The Great Gatsby*. The downward moral spiral of Dreiser's protagonist can be seen as resulting from his role as a passenger in a hit-and-run car collision that kills a girl. He turns tail and runs away, leaving the child dead on the road. Not exactly carefree motoring.

ANN SHILLINGLAW
CHICAGO, IL

DROWER POWER

Paul William Roberts's "My Translation Problem" [*LF*, December/January] only recently came to my attention. As the steward of Lady Drower's scholarly archives, as the translator of a Mandaean text (*The Scroll of Exalted Kingship*, American Oriental Society, 1993), and as a student and scholar of the Mandaean religion for nearly thirty years, I take the strongest possible exception to Roberts's assertions about the religion and about Drower's work on it.

Roberts phoned me as he was working on the piece, and he quotes me on p. 71, evidently seeing me as one of the "drones toiling in [Drower's] Mandaean hive." He is annoyed that I would say nothing to impugn Drower's reputation. Indeed, I have the highest regard for her work.

JORUNN JACOBSEN BUCKLEY
INSTRUCTOR IN LITERATURE, M.I.T.

THE KIDS ARE ALRIGHT

In her eagerness to criticize "legacy preference" in college admissions, Jessica Burlingame ["All in the Family," *LF*, November] badly misrepresents my views and wrongly implies that I am a critic of colleges that do this.

As I clearly told Ms. Burlingame, colleges that give admissions preference to children of alumni have good reason to do so: They believe this practice will help attract a well-rounded student body with a sense of loyalty to the school and its history. Moreover, these students are likely to excel once enrolled. Because college officials believe this strategy is in the best interest of their institution and have made a conscious decision to pursue it, it is completely rational, even if it does not, according to her calculations, seem economically wise.

TERRY W. HARTLE
VICE PRESIDENT
AMERICAN COUNCIL ON EDUCATION

In "Peer Pressure" [*LF*, March], we incorrectly described the manuscript-review policy at *Ethics*. In fact, the philosophy journal does practice blind peer review and only infrequently invites submissions. Furthermore, we mistakenly implied that the promotion case we discussed was a tenure case; in fact it concerned the promotion to full tenure of an associate professor.

In the April/May "Jobtracks," under Philosophy, we listed Michael O'Donovan-Anderson as having been hired by St. John's University. He was, in fact, hired by St. John's College.

In the March "Jobtracks," under recent hires in French, we listed Paul Rockwell as having been hired by Colby College. Dr. Rockwell is, in fact, a tenured associate professor of French at Amherst College. He worked at Colby College for one semester while on leave from Amherst.

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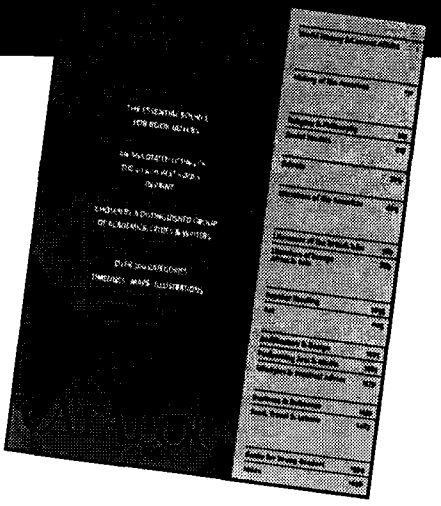

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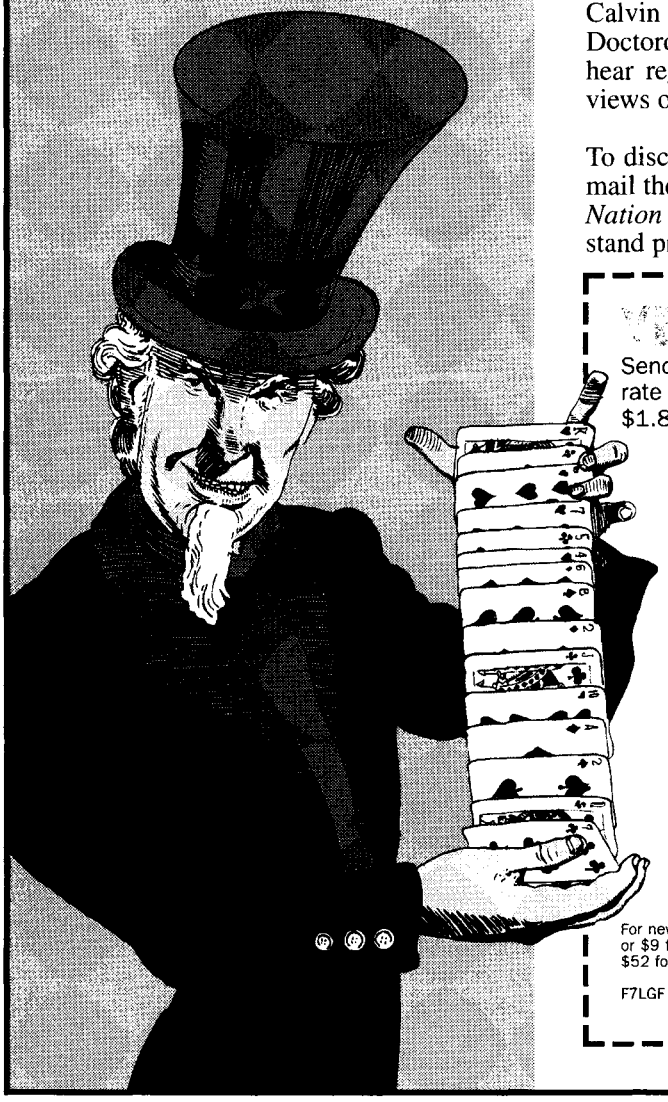

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The University of Oklahoma

Editor/Director of World Literature Today
and
Delores K. and Walter Neustadt Jr. Professor of Comparative Literature

The University of Oklahoma invites nominations and applications for the position of **Editor/Director of World Literature Today** on the Norman Campus. The Editor/Director will also hold the **Delores K. and Walter Neustadt Jr. Professorship of Comparative Literature.**

Environment:
The University of Oklahoma is a major, national research university. The Norman Campus has 11 colleges, 20,000 students, and 900 faculty. Other academic programs are located at the Health Sciences Center in Oklahoma City, the University of Oklahoma College of Medicine at Tulsa, and the University Center at Tulsa. The University of Oklahoma has experienced steady growth in recent years in the number and quality of students and the amount of funded research. With nearly 90,000 residents, Norman is the third largest city in Oklahoma and is located 20 miles south of Oklahoma City.

Responsibilities:
The Editor/Director will hold an Endowed Chair/Professorship as a 12-month appointment and will have teaching and research/creative responsibilities along with the directorship. The Editor/Director, working with the Provost, Deans, Faculty, and Students, will administer the Neustadt International Prize for Literature and the Puterbaugh Conferences on World Literature. The Editor/Director will be responsible for expanding readership and developing the journal's circulation at the national and international levels. The Editor/Director will be responsible for identifying resource support and donorship at the local and national levels. The Editor/Director reports directly to the Senior Vice President and Provost of the University of Oklahoma.

Candidate must have the following qualifications:
•an earned doctorate or equivalent experience in an appropriate field.
•a distinguished scholarly and/or creative record, editorial experience, and strong leadership abilities.
•experience in university-level teaching, and a commitment to the teaching, research, and public service missions of a state-supported research university.
•a vision for the future of World Literature Today at a university committed to expanding the international scope of its programs.
•ability to identify donor prospects and to expand support for World Literature Today.
•ability to communicate with a broad-based constituency at the state, national, and international levels.
•commitment to diversity and to Affirmative Action procedures and outcomes.

Review of applications will begin on **August 1, 1997**. The position will remain open until filled.

Starting date negotiable.
Inquiries, nominations, and applications should be sent to:
Dean David G. Woods, Chair
Editor/Director, World Literature Today Search Committee
540 Parrington Oval, Room #122
University of Oklahoma
Norman, Oklahoma 73019

Applications should include a complete vita and the names, positions, addresses, and phone numbers of at least three but not more than five references.

The University of Oklahoma is an equal opportunity, Affirmative Action employer and is responsive to the needs of dual career couples.

ENCYCLOPAEDIA AFRICANA PROJECT

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CALL FOR RESEARCHERS AND WRITERS

Writers wanted to prepare text for entries for an *Encyclopaedia Africana*, a comprehensive and authoritative compilation of knowledge about Africa and the African Diaspora. Work is expected to commence by the early summer of 1997. Salary: $26,000-$30,000.

Requirements: Experience writing under deadline required. B.A. degree required (M.A. or Ph.D. preferred, but not essential). Must have experience with Internet and Microsoft Word 6.0 or 7.0. Knowledge of Africa and the African presence in the rest of the world preferred. A few positions require knowledge of French, Spanish, or Portuguese. Please send resume, writing samples, and letter of application to the attention of Dr. Patricia Sullivan, Managing Editor, 1430 Massachusetts Avenue, 4th Floor, Cambridge, MA 02138

QUEER AND SOUTHERN?

Papers are requested for a collection of interdisciplinary essays by gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered queers southerners critiquing the South. Possible topics include race, class and homophobia in the South; queer southerners and the KKK; the experiences of gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgendered persons in southern institutions; the South, education, religion and politics; the queer literatures in southern literature and the southern gothic; the south in gentleman and the southern belle; queer southern responses to war and flight and the displaced queer southerner. Proposals for other topics in history, sociology, economics, education, the arts, urban and rural studies and other fields interested in the intersection of queers and southern experiences are also welcome. We encourage submissions which blur the line between conventional scholarship and personal autobiographical writing. Send two copies of proposals by 1 June 1997 or two copies of completed essays by 1 September 1997 to: Carlos L. Dews, Camden Lewis, Law Department of English, University of West Florida, 11000 University Parkway, Pensacola, FL 32514-5750 (+1 904 474 2993 Dews); cdews@uwf.edu; clewis@uwf.edu

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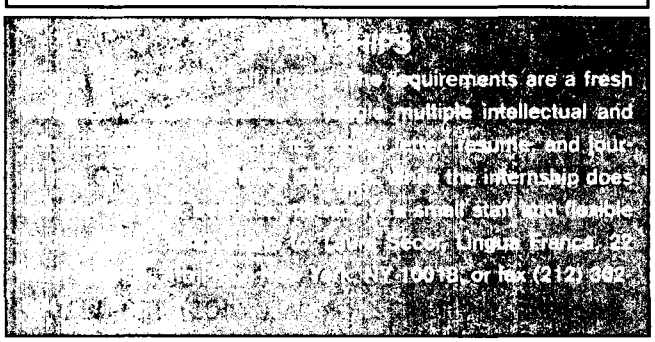
Resident Postdoctoral Fellowships for the 1998-99 academic year. Applications must be postmarked on or before October 21, 1997. Applicants must have completed the Ph.D. by the time of application, and have one or more years of college teaching experience. Applicants must be working on topics related to this year's theme: The Virtual Old and New. Stipend: $32,000. For further information write: Agnes Sirrine, The Society for the Humanities, 27 East Avenue, Ithaca, NY 14853, (607) 255-9274



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SLAVERY IN THE FRANCOPHONE WORLD

"Slavery in the Francophone World" will focus on slavery's aftermath in the colonial and postcolonial worlds, with emphasis on the links between slavery in the Southern United States and the French Caribbean, most notably as a result of the influx of Haitian refugees in the last decade of the eighteenth century and the beginning years of the nineteenth century. In addition to invited lectures by leading historians and literary critics in French, American, and African American studies, the symposium will feature the English-language premiere of *In the Time of the Revolution* by Maryse Condé, who will attend and comment on the play. Contact Doris Y. Kadish, Department of Romance Languages, University of Georgia, Athens, GA 30602; dkadish@uga.cc.uga.edu; http://www.uga.edu/~romlan/seminar1.htm; phone (706) 542-3121; fax (706) 542-3287

Athens, GA: October 15-16, 1997

ORAL HISTORY

The Oral History Association will hold its thirty-first meeting, "Looking In, Looking Out: Retelling the Past, Envisioning the Future," in New Orleans. Presentations will examine the uses of oral history in the construction of religious, scientific, artistic, and Bohemian culture. Presentations of various musical traditions complement papers on politics, community action, medicine, and work and workers. John Maginnis will explain Louisiana's unique brand of politics. Michel-Rolph Trouillot will discuss the distinctions between written history and oral memory in Haiti. Pre-conference workshops will include: Oral History for Beginners; Funding; Video Taping and Editing; From Tape to Stage; and Oral History on Line. Contact Oral History Association, P.O. Box 97234, Baylor University, Waco, TX 76798-7234; (254) 755-2764; Fax (254) 755-1571; e-mail: oha_support@baylor.edu; or see the Web site at http://www.baylor.edu/~OHA

New Orleans, LA: September 25-28, 1997

MARK TWAIN STUDIES GROUP

The Elmira College Center for Mark Twain Studies presents its third quadrennial international conference on "The State of Mark Twain Studies." The conference celebrates the centennial of *Following the Equator* and salutes Dr. Hamlin Hill upon the occasion of his retirement. Dr. Hill will give the keynote address. Papers will be presented on a variety of topics: Twain's Travels at Home, Twain's Travels Abroad, Twain and 19th Century Popular Culture, *Adventures of Huckleberry Finn*, Twain's Style, The Legacies of Twain, Twain's Politics, and The Late Twain. Roundtable discussion sessions will also take place on Teaching Twain: Problems and Possibilities. The conference is open to any interested person. A brochure/registration form may be obtained from The Center for Mark Twain Studies, Elmira College, One Park Place, Elmira, NY 14901. Phone (607) 735-1941 or fax (607) 735-1756.

Elmira, NY: August 14-16, 1997

HISPANICS: CULTURAL LOCATIONS

The University of San Francisco will be holding an interdisciplinary and international conference that promises to be a landmark event, providing a public setting for discussions on the condition, agency, and self-identification of Hispanics in Latin America and the U.S. The conference seeks to promote interaction among Hispanics/Latinos, highlight their role as both subjects and objects of socio-economic, political and cultural analysis, acknowledge and celebrate the existence of a Hispanic scholarly community, review the present status of Hispanic research and thus begin discussing new horizons as we approach the next millennium. The conference also seeks to assess and analyze the appropriateness of the label "Hispanic" when used for a community characterized by great ethnic and cultural diversity. Notions of Hispanicity will be analyzed and discussed as they emerge from their particular cultural locations. Keynote and plenary speakers will be: Norma Alarcón, [illegible] Martín Alcoff, Fernando Coronil, Enrique Dussel, Roberto Goizueta, Guillermo Gómez-Peña, Jorge Gracia, Elizabeth Martínez, Walter Mignolo, Alejandro Portes, Iris M. Zavala. For more information contact: 2130 Fulton Street, Campion Hall 511, San Francisco, CA 94117. Fax (415) 422-2517, telephone (415) 422-2940, email hispanic@usfca.edu. Deadline for pre-registration: July 15, 1997.

San Francisco, CA: October 10-12, 1997

FOR MORE INFORMATION ENTER [illegible]

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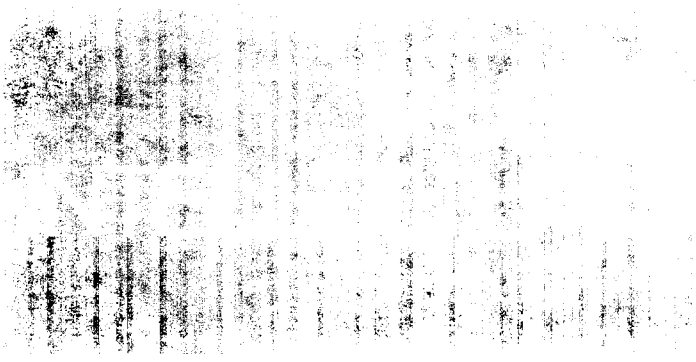
ROBIN HOOD

The University of Rochester will sponsor "Playing with Transgression: Transformations of Robin Hood," a conference exploring the range of ways in which outlawry has been performed and represented from the Middle Ages to the present. Panelists will address early ballads and narratives; poetical, theatrical, and operatic appropriations; elements of spectacle in stage, film, and visual arts; and popular and literary adaptations (including comic books and animations). Among the participants will be R.B. Dobson (Cambridge), Stephen Knight (Cardiff), Michael Eaton (award-winning screenwriter of *Fellow Travelers*), directors Gary Yershon (London) and Ross Petty (Toronto), and more than a dozen other speakers. There will be several theatrical and musical performances, as well as screenings of films and video tapes of recent pantomimes. The conference will coincide with the sole North American installation of *Robin Hood: An International Exhibition* at Rochester. For information and registration, contact Thomas Hahn, Department of English, Rochester, NY 14627, or visit the Robin Hood Website at http://rodent.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/rh/rhhome.htm.

Rochester, NY: October 16-18, 1997



WHAT'S LEFT OF THEORY?

The 56th annual meeting of The English Institute will consider whether literary theory has necessary political affiliations, whether the question of politics has displaced theory, whether theory remains as an animating presupposition of politically engaged academic work. Are there specters of theory that haunt the anti-theoretical bias, and how are we to think the relationship between literary theory and the sphere of political life? Participants at the conference include: Michael Bérubé, John Brenkman, Judith Butler, William Connolly, Jonathan Culler, John Guillory, Janet Halley, Marjorie Levinson, Jeff Nunokawa, Hortense Spillers, Kendall Thomas, Michael Warner. For more information, please contact The English Institute, Center for Literary and Cultural Studies, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA 02138. Telephone (617) 496-1006, or send e-mail to englinst@fas.harvard.edu.

Cambridge, MA: September 26-28, 1997

RELIGION AND POSTMODERNISM

Villanova University sponsors an international colloquium of philosophers and theologians devoted to the exploration of the questions of religion and interpretation at the end of the second millennium. *Speakers*: Jacques Derrida, John Dominic Crossan, Robert Dodaro, O.S.A., Richard Kearney, Jean-Luc Marion, Françoise Meltzer, Mark C. Taylor, David Tracy, Merold Westphal, Edith Wyschogrod. *Coordinators*: John D. Caputo, Cook Professor of Philosophy, and Michael J. Scanlon, O.S.A., Connelly Professor of Theology. For more information, please contact Ms. Barbara Romano, St. Augustine Center for the Liberal Arts, Villanova University, Villanova, PA 19085-1699. You may also telephone (610) 519-4780, or fax (610) 519-6098, or e-mail bromano@email.vill.edu for registration and information.

Villanova, PA: September 25-27, 1997

LATINA VISIONS

Call for panels and papers for "Latina Visions for Transforming the Americans/Perspectivas latinas en la transformación de las Américas," the seventh annual Women's Studies conference at Southern Connecticut State University. Keynote speakers include Edna Acosta-Belén, Distinguished Professor of Latin American, Caribbean, and Women's Studies at SUNY-Albany. The organizers invite submissions including proposals for papers, round-table discussions, workshops, performances, slide/video shows, poster sessions and works in progress. The conference will explore Latina issues and influences across an interdisciplinary spectrum including, but not limited to: anthropology, demographics, economics, education and pedagogy, history, language, law, literature, philosophy, politics, psychology, religion, sociology, and the visual and performing arts. Theoretical perspectives may include cultural studies, feminism, Lesbian theory, Marxism, post-modernism, post-structuralism, queer theory, and racial theory. Activist and community-based approaches are also welcome. For information and submission guidelines, see SCSU's Women's Studies' homepage at http://scsu.ctstateu.edu/~womenstudies/wmst.html. The deadline for proposals has been extended to June 16. Please send email to WOMENSTUDIES@SCSU.CTSTATEU.EDU or fax (203) 392-6723, or send mail to Dr. Vara Neverow, Women's Studies, EN271, Southern Connecticut State University, New Haven, CT 06515. Telephone: (203) 392-6133/6717/5864.

New Haven, CT: October 3-5, 1997

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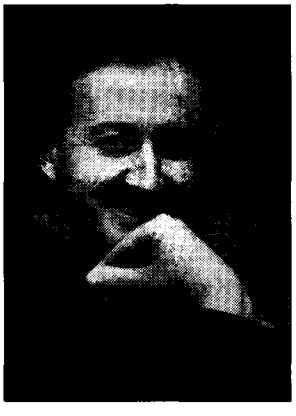

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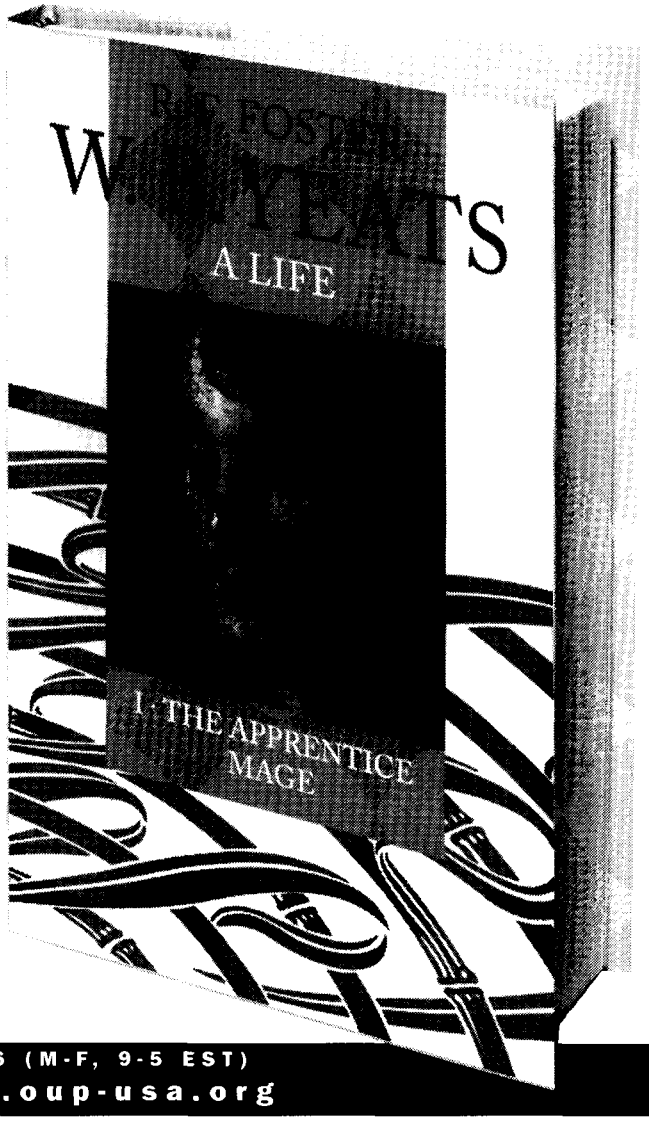

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